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FRANCIS WILLIAM FOX

A BIOGRAPHY

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BY

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WITH A PREFATORY NOTE BY

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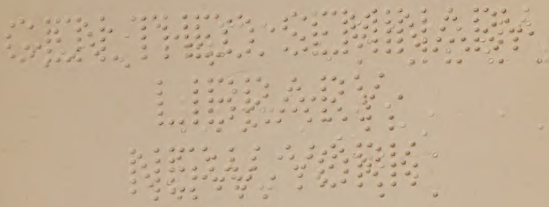

HUMPHREY MILFORD

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

1923

92
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PRINTED IN ENGLAND
AT THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
BY FREDERICK HALL

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PREFATORY NOTE

THIS brief narrative of the career of a Quaker reformer should prove of interest both to those who desire to understand why human society is not worse than it is and to those who are actively engaged in trying to make it better. Though unknown to the multitude, for which he laboured, Francis William Fox could boast of acquaintance with many prominent statesmen and of a leading share in several of the most useful movements of his time. The record of his crusades and achievements, his travels and interviews, his writings and speeches, leaves the reader almost breathless. His biographer describes his work for temperance, for native races, for the termination of a small war and the avoidance of a great one, for the reduction of armaments. Fox had his fair share both of failure and success. His belief in the power of persuasion never flagged, and his conviction of the ultimate triumph of reason and righteousness never wavered. There is no cause to despair of our country so long as it breeds such zealous and disinterested Servants of Humanity.

G. P. GOOCH.

CHAPTER I

EARLY DAYS

THE life of FRANCIS WILLIAM FOX, with its manifold social, political, and international labours, reveals so much of the more hopeful sides of public life in the past seventy years, that there is a certain duty to bring its ravelled threads into their natural unity by means of a memoir. Such a memoir should have two aspects of permanent interest. On the one hand, the actual life shows from within those many activities of reform in organized society and in the relations of organized societies with one another and with rudimentary societies which were definite features of municipal and international life in the half-century preceding the Great War. We see F. W. Fox, animated by the deepest principles of the Society of Friends, plunging into social activities such as Licensing Reform; into humanitarian work for native races of Africa: for the famine-stricken peoples of Russia; for the pagan races of China: into work for the securing of peace in an unstable world of great and conflicting Powers. We see these activities overlapping. We see a man of multitudinous interests striving with tireless energy to remedy world-evils in the physical, moral, and religious spheres. He took the whole world for his province and

appointed its rulers, statesmen, and satraps as his agents of reform. To see the processes of this work is one aspect of any adequate memoir. The other aspect is the man himself. It would require a great painter or word-artist adequately to depict this strange man, who moved about the earth on self-appointed missions with a severity of purpose which in a sense was almost unhuman, or, rather, extra-human. He had no personal motive to satisfy. He did not desire power, wealth, influence. He looked for a better world and was determined to secure it. He was interested in everything, in everybody. An extraordinary curiosity, in the minutest things as in the greatest, was his dominating passion. His absolute honesty of purpose; his intense determination to carry through, if it were possible to carry through, that purpose; his power of ignoring conventions which would have turned back an ordinary man, enabled him to penetrate into political and social regions usually closed to the average worker. He was extraordinarily self-centred and yet had no personal gain in view. He was irrebuffable, and gained his end where most men would have shrunk from the frigid official regions into which he entered. If once he secured an interview with this or that English or foreign person of importance, the relations set up immediately became something more than cordial, and not only at the interview. Innumerable letters followed, and eminent persons who, as a rule, carried on their correspondence through the most formal secretariat, found themselves writing friendly and familiar letters to this mysterious interviewer who had found the living heart of the official maze. F. W. Fox was by reason

of this persuasive influence of his a mysterious person, and not the less mysterious that he looked a very humdrum Englishman of middle height without any commanding characteristics, comfortable, friendly, genial, not brilliant in any sense, but simply persistent as well as kindly, obviously dominated by a sense of public service, and as obviously without any personal end in view. His energy, like his curiosity and goodwill, was unlimited. He was not lacking in what might in any other person have been called vanity. He revelled in the extraordinary range of his friendships and was proud of it: not proud because it reflected any glory on himself, but proud in an arithmetical sort of way of a correspondence so vast that it might have well occupied a whole Government Department and yet was conducted by himself in a lifetime that seemed to have no leisure moment in it. Yet he was never in a hurry. He had always time for innumerable acquaintances, for new ventures, for club gossip on every subject, for lunches, teas, and dinners at all of which he was the genial unobtrusive centre. He knew everybody, whether they were worth knowing or were mere club nuisances. He saw the good in everybody, even the most unlikely receptacles for goodness. He got what he wanted for his immediate social or political purpose out of every one that he met. He was storing up honey all day and mankind formed the flowers from which he gathered his store, often the most unlikely flowers. He hovered everywhere over half the globe and was as happy in Zanzibar, Shanghai, and Tokio as he was in Berlin, the Hague, or London. Apart from the various societies over which he brooded in genial

fashion, he never had any official position in life. He never entered or wished to enter Parliament. He was an inspired amateur who regarded Kings, Prime Ministers, Chancellors, Cabinet Ministers, Bishops, and every other person burdened with official duties, as his heaven-sent instruments in the task which he had allotted to himself, the task of making the world fit for people of all classes to live in. Francis William Fox stood alone in his generation. Indeed, probably no one of quite the same type ever before moved about a somewhat amused but complaisant and conquered official world. The only reward that he asked for his indomitable labours was some recognition of the fact that he was an amateur world-force: not because he wished to be regarded as great or noble or splendid, or an uncrowned king, but because he thought that nothing in life should be hidden, that everything should be on the table open to the curiosity of everybody, including himself, Francis William Fox of the Society of Friends. His universal curiosity extended to himself and he desired that others should read him as he read himself. Such vanity as he had was the vanity of 'Athanasius contra Mundum'. He was in the world but not of it, and his place in the great contest against 'the world' (in the biblical sense) he believed to be worthy of substantial recognition. Few who knew him will doubt that he was right. There is a phrase in the Book of Proverbs that adequately describes Fox's life-long activities: 'The spider taketh hold with her hands, and is in kings' palaces' (xxx. 28). He spun his apparently feeble webs unaided, yet these webs had the most wonderful persistence and were found hanging

in the most unlikely places; even in kings' palaces, even in the Palace of Peace at the Hague.

This noteworthy man was born on the 15th November 1841 at Kingsbridge, a small market town in South Devon, one of the thirteen children of George and Rachel Fox. His ancestors on both sides were Friends of early date in the history of that famous Society. His father was a member of the Wadebridge branch of the Cornish Fox family and at Wadebridge was largely interested in copper and tin workings before he removed to Kingsbridge and became a banker. His grandfather, Edward Fox, of Gonvena House, Wadebridge, had been connected with the mining interests of the Duchy of Cornwall from the mid-eighteenth century. The mother of Francis William Fox was Rachel Hingston of Devon, and the famous George Fox, during one of his western journeys, stayed in the Hingstons' house. In their time this family suffered much persecution. In 1665 the Hingstons were at West Alvington, near Kingsbridge, and a William Hingston is referred to as a 'notorious quaker'.[1] Kingsbridge and West Alvington at this date were busy centres of nonconformity. Rachel Fox and her husband took a leading part in the life of the Friends in this part of Devon, and we are told that she 'whose sympathies were widely extended—she personally shared in the attempts then being made, under great difficulties, to circulate the Bible in Spain—heartily

[1] *Original Records of Early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, transcribed and edited by G. Lyon Turner (Fisher Unwin, 1911), vol. ii, p. 1185.

encouraged her children in efforts for the good of the people of the neighbouring villages'. The influence of the mother was a powerful force in the life of all the children—of, among the others, Joseph Hingston Fox (1835–1912), who performed excellent humanitarian Christian work in London and at Cambridge, and was greatly interested in many of the causes with which Francis was also identified; and Albert, who died in Spain on the 27th January 1867, while engaged in commercial and evangelistic work. The home at Kingsbridge was a centre of hospitality, and here Francis met many very interesting people, and acquired his lifelong desire for social reform. The visitors included deputations from the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Religious Tract and Temperance Societies; and men such as John Scoble and his cousin, Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, the Greek and Hebrew scholar; William Pengelly and Charles Hayward, the geologists; and many others. He went to school from 1854 to 1857 at the Kingsbridge Grammar School, then under the Rev. Henry Crowther, with special instruction in the later school-days in mathematics from Mr. Whiteside. Even in those early days from 1852 to 1857, Francis had the care and oversight of certain districts, including West Alvington (notable in the history of the mother's family) and Dodbrooke, where he exchanged weekly tracts. In 1858 he paid a visit to his brothers Hingston and Albert in London (at Stoke Newington), and for the first time attended the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends. Meantime in 1857 he had passed into his father's bank at Kingsbridge for two years in order to acquire a

knowledge of banking and accounts, and in November 1859 he was sent to Bristol to be articled to his cousin, Francis Fox, the engineer-in-chief of the Bristol and Exeter railway. He remained at this work until 1863, living with his brother, R. Reynolds Fox, at 3 Meridian Place, Clifton. In 1863 he went on from the engineering work at Bristol to surveying work upon the projected Taunton and Chard railway, living at a farm-house near Habot in Somerset. Captain Speke, his first link with Africa, lived near by. In 1864 Francis and Mr. Edwin Walker started the Atlas Engineering Works at Bristol and built up a substantial business.

The firm in 1856 exhibited a portable agricultural engine at the Royal Agricultural Show at Plymouth, and in 1867 secured orders for cylinder locomotives for the Windsor and Annapolis railway in Nova Scotia and for a stationary engine to drive the machinery of the British department of the Paris Exhibition of that year. By 1873 the firm had developed a considerable foreign business, exhibiting at the Vienna Exhibition of 1873 and the Paris Exhibition of 1878, supplying the Netherlands Government with locomotives for the Java railway, as well as engines for the Argentine railways, and various French and Italian railways. However, in 1879, the firm and the Bridgewater Engineering Company in which he was also interested were wound up. By that date Francis Fox had larger projects in view. During these years he had lived at Grove House, Stoke Bishop, on Durdham Downs, where, as at Clifton, he found time to entertain many friends, some of whom were men of considerable note. His catholicity of friendship is shown by the very mixed

religious views of the visitors such as F. W. Newman who held very different views from those of this family circle and of families such as the Frys, the Peases, the Sturgeses, the many Foxes, and the Carpenters. In 1881 Francis Fox was still busy with railway projects. In that year he visited Jedburgh to report on a railway to Kelso, and in the same year he promoted, in co-operation with Mr. W. Lidstone, successful bills in Parliament for railways from Brent to Kingsbridge and from Exeter to the Teign valley. A much larger scheme was also in view, the connecting of the Queensland railways with the Gulf of Carpentaria, a project still unaccomplished. In 1881, in pursuit of his larger ideas, he settled in London at No. 8 Queen Anne's Gate. The removal to London was soon followed by the breaking of the permanent home ties. His father died at the age of 85 on the 3rd February 1882, at Plymouth, and his mother at the same age died on the 22nd May 1885. From this time forward Francis Fox was brought into touch with great foreign adventures, the links being purely business links which speedily developed into political and humanitarian work. The first foreign touch was with Egypt. In May 1884 he went to Cairo to consider certain irrigation works projected by the Egyptian Government. Here he met the notorious Zobeir Pasha (with whom he talked as to the safety of General Gordon, at Khartoum), Nabor Pasha, Sir Evelyn Baring (afterwards Lord Cromer), Mr. Justice Amos, and many others, and at once became aflame with ideas for the reclamation of the Sudan. The visit to Cairo was repeated in June 1885 when Fox and Mr. Anderson undertook a Government contract

for dredging the Egyptian canals. On the way he wrote to Cardinal Manning and to Commander Cameron with suggestions as to the future of the Sudan.

The question of the Sudan will be dealt with later: it is proposed here rapidly to survey the activities of the next thirty years and then to consider successively in some detail Fox's work in connexion with English social problems, his efforts abroad in religious and humanitarian matters, and finally his work in connexion with great international affairs governed by his ideals as a Friend, and by his search for a basis of universal and perpetual peace. These three groups of work were continually overlapping, but they were all governed by the guiding principle that men and nations alike are ultimately subject to the laws of reasonableness and love.

A chronological survey will form a useful introduction to the more detailed account. During the years from 1885 to 1888 Fox was closely occupied with matters relating to the eastern Sudan. The interest created by his visit to Cairo in 1884 was permanent, and we find him visiting Suakim, Cairo, and Rome, in the hope that he could do something to end the war in the Sudan and Abyssinia. The war against the Mahdi ended for the time being with the brief campaign which followed the fall of Khartoum on the 27th January 1885. Egypt as well as the British Empire had other things to think of, and the Sudan, with the exception of the Red Sea ports, was evacuated and was left in the desolating control of the Mahdi and Osman Digna. The eastern Sudan was reoccupied

by Egypt early in 1891, but that was after the time when Fox was chiefly interested in Egyptian affairs. During this period, however, he found a new field for his prentice hand, the relations of Italy and Abyssinia. Italy, despite the British abandonment of the Sudan and the personal advice of Lord Cromer, entered upon an Abyssinian campaign in the hope of creating a great African colony. This unfortunate and impressively unsuccessful war stimulated Francis Fox's passionate desire to end this struggle and to lay the basis of African peace. His activities at this time foreshadowed the larger efforts of later years. He put himself into touch with all the actors in these tragic events and became known as a disinterested and well-balanced worker for general peace.

CHAPTER II

AN AMATEUR AMBASSADOR

THE interest that Francis Fox took in the pacification of the Sudan and in the termination of the war between Italy and Abyssinia, which practically ended with the overwhelming defeat of the Italians at Adowah in February 1896, brought him into touch directly or indirectly with a great many men of affairs. As we have seen, he met Lord Cromer and other leading men in Cairo in 1885. In the same year, and in 1886, we find him in touch with Cardinal Manning, General Booth, Mr. W. E. Forster, and Mr. Charles Warren. He is visiting at Oxford and Cambridge, and meeting such men as Dr. Rendel Harris, Professor Seeley, and Mr. Arnold Forster. He is at Leeds and Edinburgh on Sudanese matters, and, in 1887, is at Suakim and sees Lord Kitchener: is at Rome interviewing Italian statesmen, and in London urging Lord Napier of Magdala to induce Lord Salisbury to open up those direct communications with Abyssinia which were undertaken by Mr. Gerald Portal in October 1887. Meantime, in September 1886, Fox paid a flying visit to Canada with a colonization scheme in view near Winnipeg in the parish of Headingley. He visited the existing Memnonite colonies, and returned home by way of

the States, where he met D. L. Moody, the revivalist, J. G. Whittier, and Oliver Wendell Holmes. He was working off and on at this plan of colonization until 1899. His work on the Committee of the East London Colonization Society and necessary attention to the new colony filled up much time. In the autumn of 1889 he revisited America and the colony, and had interviews with many interesting people, including Whittier, Holmes, Moody, John Sankey, C. P. Huntington, the railway magnate, and President Harrison. He was also in correspondence with Mr. Blaine, the well-known Secretary of State, and by a letter on the African Slave Trade induced Mr. Huntington to take an active part in the African anti-slavery movement. So we see Francis Fox come into a new sphere of activity. Immediately on his return to London in October 1889, he is full of anti-slavery problems, writes to *The Times* a long letter on the proposed Slave Trade Conference, and the next month attends the Conference at Brussels as a delegate from the Aborigines Protection Society.

The meeting of such a Conference in Brussels was significant. An independent State, based to some extent on philanthropic efforts, had for some ten years been in process of evolution in the basin of the Congo. About 1884 the ominous figure of Leopold, King of the Belgians, had emerged as the head of the Congo Free State, and its neutrality and independence were recognized at the Congress of Berlin in 1885 as part of the political organization of Central Africa. King Leopold gradually enlarged the territory of the

Free State, and for some years from 1889, when the king promised to leave it to Belgium, the State was an experiment in hopeful things, which resulted in the destruction of Arab domination and the reduction of various native evils, including the native slave traffic. Such a State, however, could not pay its way without trade, and from 1890 onwards Government monopolies were established after the Great Powers had modified the arrangements of 1885 and permitted the import duties. From that moment the native population practically was enslaved for the purposes of production intended to enrich the State. King Leopold proved an irresponsible autocrat whose reckless demands aroused the public opinion of the world. The Aborigines Protection Society made great efforts from 1896 onwards, and from 1904 the Congo Reform Association pressed for reform. Diplomatic pressure left King Leopold unmoved, but the public opinion of Belgium was a different matter, and in 1908 the Congo State was transferred to Belgium, and a new responsibility was created. But in 1889 the Free State was in the odour of respectability, not to say sanctity, as an experiment for the betterment of Africa, the latest device of the latest Holy Alliance, and therefore Brussels was the aptest place for a Congress on the Slave Trade. There Mr. Fox met all the saints and some sinners, including King Leopold himself. Fox threw himself into the work with energy, and full of the first fine frenzy of reform visited the Foreign Offices at the Hague and Berlin as well as Brussels. In fact, at a second visit to Brussels on the subject, he lunched, probably

with a long spoon, at the palace with King Leopold, but failed to take the measure of perhaps the cleverest and certainly the most sinister potentate in Europe. From 1888 to 1897 the work went on. The amateur ambassador was not only associated with the Aborigines Protection Society, but flung himself with characteristic energy into the anti-slavery movement promoted by the Society of Friends, which resulted in the abolition of slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and in the introduction of missionary work. He, indeed, personally visited the islands in the spring of 1897, and for three months was the guest of the Commissioner, Sir Arthur Hardinge, who about this time issued the edict abolishing slavery. During this long anti-slavery campaign Fox was in constant communication with the British Foreign Office and with persons of importance in all parts of the world, and this fact directly led to even more important efforts. There was a definite continuity in his struggle for a better world. Each effort was a legitimate development of earlier work, and though Mr. Fox never forgot old loves, yet we see the almost uncanny shrewdness with which he made each stage of success, or even of failure, an antechamber to new effort. The process will become plainer as the greater movements of his life are revealed in detail, but in this preliminary survey it is desirable to keep the fact in mind.

In some ways Fox was like the neat conjurers who delight the days of youth. His audience, however, was not composed of children. Statesmen must have been astonished to see his pleasing, placid face

appearing at so many places of the social, political, and diplomatic fields almost simultaneously. He was the Quaker Richmond of his age, without the ambition but with a good deal of the meticulous energy of the founder of the Tudor State. In the field of conflict he was everywhere. While he was getting to grips with the Foreign Offices of Europe and Great Britain on the subject of slavery he was securing a firm hold on British ministers with respect to the subject of licensing reform. At almost the same moment he is in Russia, in the winter of 1891–2, inquiring into the great Russian famine, and is in England organizing relief for the sufferers. All the while he has his eye on Africa and on the negro. He interviews Mr. Cecil Rhodes in London, and is told by that eminent man that he had adopted Mr. Fox's idea of pacifying the Sudan by making the Mahdi into a policeman. In the same year he is off to America to study in Georgia the financial possibilities of developing the rice industry by free negro labour. He is here, there, and everywhere. In 1891 he is hoping to negotiate a concession for the Baghdad railway, but his claim was bought out, to his disgust, by the Deutsche Bank. In 1894 he is in Algiers investigating the possibilities of the phosphate deposits. These were mundane things, and soon he flings aside all ideas of resumption of business when there swam into his ken an idea that was to be a condition precedent to all the business of all the world, the limitation of armaments. In April 1894 he is hard at work at his new labours, and all the friends that he had ever made were sooner or later to be involved in the ideas which sprung

to life in his active and tireless mind with respect to a new and pacific world. In a sense it may be said that the Washington Conference of 1921 on the subject owed much to the long and apparently fruitless labours of Francis William Fox. There is a certain fitness in this, for it has always been the tradition of the Friends to cast their spiritual bread upon the waters. On 8th April 1894 F. W. Fox had what may almost be considered as a momentous interview with M. de Blowitz in Paris, and suggested to that famous journalist an International Conference at Geneva for the purpose of devising ways and means for the simultaneous reduction of European armaments. He tells us that subsequently he saw Mr. John Walter of *The Times* newspaper, who entered into the suggestion with much interest. Fox states that M. de Blowitz was encouraged by Mr. Walter to undertake a European crusade in the press in favour of a policy of simultaneous limitation of armaments, and told him

'that he had had direct communication with the Court of Denmark, that the King was anxious that some practical action should be taken on this question'.

Fox adds:

'Though we have no definite authority for this belief, it was and is even generally thought by those who are somewhat behind the scenes that the King of Denmark had also at this time brought the matter before and discussed the proposal with his son-in-law the Czar Alexander III.'

Matters began to move in a more direct fashion. A representative public meeting was held in April

1894 at the Devonshire House Meeting House with Mr. Joseph Storrs Fry in the Chair, to deal with the question of the limitation of armaments. To this meeting, called by the Society of Friends, Fox brought Madame Olga Novikoff, Mr. W. T. Stead, and M. Wessilitsky, the London correspondent of the *Novoe Vremya*. The following resolution was passed:

'This Conference, meeting by invitation of the religious Society of Friends, and composed of members of the various Christian Denominations, being convinced of the urgent need in the present state of Europe for definite action being taken towards the international reduction of armaments, believes that the time is ripe for the Government of this Country to propose to the other Powers the adoption of practical measures designed to promote that object, and urges upon Christian Churches the duty of unitedly approaching the Government for this purpose, and also for the promotion of some "permanent system" of International Arbitration.'

M. Wessilitsky at once dispatched a report of the meeting with the text of the resolution to the *Novoe Vremya*, while Madame Novikoff informed the Russian Ambassador in London, M. de Staal, of the proceedings. The fact that a newspaper like the *Novoe Vremya*, which habitually trimmed its sails to favouring breezes of progress, took up the movement showed that it was more practical than it seemed, and in fact the idea was taken up in England as well as Russia with something like ardour. In Russia, the advent of labour troubles and the need for industrial and agricultural development unhindered

by the fear of war made the idea of perpetual peace not only a form of idealism which appealed to the Russian mind, but a practical conception which attracted shrewd and alarmed Russian statesmen. In England limitations of armament would have been more than welcome if national safety could be assured. Mr. Fox was, in fact, working in fruitful fields. Indeed, a possible harvest seemed to show itself with almost unnatural speed. A nipping frost was certain enough. Yet there could be no loss in disseminating the idea of general peace. In June 1894 a memorial embodying the ideas of the Quaker resolution, and signed by representatives of the churches in Great Britain, was presented to the Prime Minister, Lord Rosebery, who at once forwarded it to Russia. The Czar was favourably impressed. The necessary atmosphere had been created. Russia, in a state of economic, intellectual, and spiritual unrest, was threatened with reaction, though progress was taking place in many directions. An age of capitalism seemed to be at hand under the control of a new liberalism. The Czar stood firmly for external peace, good relations had been established with Germany, while an alliance with France followed the economic support that she had given to Russia. Russia needed security for peace, and Alexander would have made something of the proposed international conference had he not died in November 1894. It was plain enough that the isolation of Russia must cease, and that she must come, *pace* the Treaty of Berlin and the Triple Alliance of Austria, Italy, and Germany, into the full current of Western European life. The pro-

posed conference would have been a stage forward, and the idea was not forgotten. Czar Nicholas II, the son of Alexander, pursued his father's policy, and on 24th August 1898 Count Muravieff, the Russian Foreign Minister, issued the Peace Rescript proposing the famous Peace Conference which sat at the Hague from 18th May to 29th July 1899. Immediately after the publication of the Peace Rescript, a fact that astonished the public rather than the diplomatists, Mr. Stead, Mr. Fox, and others, organized the energetic and indeed influential 'War against War Crusade' committee, which directly influenced opinion in England and, both directly and indirectly, on the Continent. Indeed, the committee claimed to have enlarged the original proposals of the Russian Government. It appointed a sub-committee to prepare a scheme aiming at the creation of a Permanent International Tribunal of Arbitration. While the committee was exercising its influence in order to make certain the convening of the conference, the sub-committee prepared a document in French and English setting forth the project for a Tribunal, and Mr. Fox personally supplied copies to nearly all the plenipotentiaries appointed to attend the conference. Copies of the scheme were forwarded to the British Foreign Office in advance. The proposal was not included in the agenda issued by the Russian Government, but in fact the project was taken up, and a considerable part of the actual proposals was embodied in the Arbitration Scheme ultimately adopted at the Hague. Lord Pauncefote brought the proposal forward, and was supported by Mr. Andrew White, the representative

of the United States of America. Mr. Fox, of course, was upon the scene, and was one of two persons who obtained permission to attend the opening session, his colleague being the Baroness von Suttner. Here he laid the foundation for further efforts at the Hague towards the close of the South African War.

By one of the stranger ironies of history the calling of the conference was followed by twenty years of more or less continuous war, wars that had the effect of making the world at large see the necessity for securing a more settled basis to international society. The Spanish American War which ended the Dominion of Spain in the New World had closed in December 1898. The outbreak of the South African War in October 1899 immediately followed the conclusion of the Hague Conference and was only ended by the Peace of Vereeniging on 31st May 1902. These were the beginnings of two decades of acute social and political unrest fostered on all hands by the determinate policy of the German Empire to fish in troubled waters while piling up armaments for the great day which has now passed into history. It was an epoch of alliances and counter alliances when the policy of the balance of power was spun to its finest thread. The conduct of that policy was accompanied by continual wars or rumours of wars. The Russo-Japanese War broke out in February 1904 and lasted until August 1905 with results that brought Japan into the group of Great Powers. The torpor of the *fin de siècle* gave place to almost universal unrest in the shadow of which Germany perfected her armaments and gradually displayed to an unbelieving world her

capacity for war and her intention to use that capacity for securing the hegemony of the world. The Agadir incident of 1911, the successive Balkan Wars, and lastly the Great War of 1914 were the bitter fruits of policy that can be traced back in logical detail to the days that followed the battle of Jena in 1806, the Holy Alliance of 1814–15, and the innumerable devices of European statesmen throughout the nineteenth century. It was in such a world, where the unrest of labour and the devices of capitalists grimly underlay the fencing of statesmen and the clash of arms, that Francis William Fox moved and strove, a pathetic and almost humorous figure, to touch the springs of human policy to nobler issues. Who shall say that he, the Amateur Diplomatist, was altogether unsuccessful? He was never idle; he watched for his opportunities. Amid the clash of arms, for him the laws of progress were not silent. He turned to social reform believing that there lay the key to ultimate peace. We find him in 1900 fixing his attention on the problems of India. He had long thought that the peaceful future of the great peninsula turned on the development of agricultural and industrial resources through the agency of irrigation works. In this he was a pupil of General Sir Arthur Cotton, whom he knew intimately. In October 1900 Lord Curzon seems to have suggested that it was the business of the critics of the Indian Government to come forward with proposals. Mr. Fox saw his opportunity and, taking the advice of Sir Arthur Cotton and General H. Fischer, submitted a long list of the irrigation works that should be carried out forthwith. In this way the reformer saw

that possible streams of unrest could be checked at the source. In 1901 and 1902 F. W. Fox was apparently absorbed in questions of temperance legislation and licensing reform, and was in constant communication, and one might say co-operation, with the Home Secretary, Mr. Ritchie, and Mr. Arthur Chamberlain. In 1903 these efforts were continued. He threw himself into the notorious Farnham licensing case with almost the fury of a litigant in person, and not only set to work to secure the necessary evidence in Farnham, but enlivened the autumn of the year by communicating with no less than twenty-four Chairmen of Quarter Sessions, urging them with a large measure of success to follow the good example of the Farnham Bench and reduce the number of licensed houses. England sober was, in the mind of this vigorous reformer, a necessary step towards that peaceful world which for the time being had passed out of even the prophet's vision.

It must not be supposed that the welfare of India and the sobriety of England were sufficient to fill his mind. All the while the goal of peace was the only ultimate goal that mattered. The South African War stood in the way of any possible international arrangement. Mr. Fox had secured his footing at the Hague in 1899 and had made his friends there, so in November 1901 he made his pilgrimage thither in order to ascertain if there were any way of bringing the war to an end through the intervention of the European Dutch. He had interviews with some of the Boer leaders then in Holland and also with the Dutch Prime Minister, Dr. Kuyper, the Count de Bylandt, and others. He

claims that his visit to the Hague induced Dr. Kuyper to be willing to negotiate with the Boer leaders in Holland and South Africa, and also to open up communications with the British Government. 'These negotiations', he writes, 'led to a truce being promptly declared in South Africa, and eventually to the termination of the war and the signing of the peace conditions at Vereeniging in May 1902.' It has, however, to be remembered that by this date the guerrilla warfare of the Boers had gone on for nearly two years after the last gruesome action at Diamond Hill in June 1900, where Lord Roberts defeated General Botha, and that the end had come. To what actual extent Mr. Fox's efforts hastened the conclusion of peace it is difficult to say, and in fact other persons also claim to have secured the informal intervention of Holland in February 1902. The inner history of the period may or may not confirm Mr. Fox's confident belief that he was the main begetter of the conditions that made the last phase possible.

However that may be, peace came to set him free to pursue with avidity the elusive goddess of Universal Peace. In December 1902 and January 1903 he is in Rome interviewing the King, the Prime Minister, and others, in order to urge the importance of taking steps to convene a conference on the subject of limitation of armaments. Mr. Fox was anxious to induce Italy to take the initiative in bringing about an international agreement as to the reduction of naval expenditure. A comparatively restful year followed in which he was thinking out his plans; at last he determined to attack the problem of peace at the

fountain head of war, Berlin. To a less hopeful man the visit to Berlin in January 1904 might have made clear the hopelessness of sowing seed in that soil. However, Fox, who spoke no German, immediately tackled members of the Reichstag who spoke English. His effort was disturbed by the outbreak of war between Russia and Japan in the following month. For the time being there was nothing to be done, but immediately after the conclusion of peace, in August 1905, he attended the International Peace Conference at Lucerne, and there, though it was impossible not to realize the unfriendliness of Germany to England, he and some of the English and German delegates joined to organize the Anglo-German Friendship Committee.

It was a daring move. It is needless in this place to do more than lay stress on the active part played by Mr. Fox in organizing this movement from the English side. The British Committee called a meeting in December 1905, presided over by Lord Avebury, which certainly attracted even wider attention in Germany than it did in England. We shall see later how up to the very verge of the Great War many people in England and some people in Germany were hopeful of the results of an effort to promote peace at a time when it is now plain enough that the German Government were preparing with undeviating persistence for war at the psychological moment. The unanimity with which the German professors who had played a leading part in the working of the Anglo-German friendship scheme supported the German policy of war at what seemed like the moment for success, makes the stern efforts of Fox and other

earnest lovers of peace seem sad waste of time, but in fact it is not necessary to adopt that view, for such efforts afford additional evidence, if evidence is needed, of the intense reluctance of this country to enter upon war and of the almost pathetic belief of a large section of the community that Germany, in building up a huge fleet as well as immense and perfectly equipped armies, had no ulterior motives and no plans for the dominance of the world. F. W. Fox acted as secretary to the English Committee and helped to organize the visit to England in 1906 of the editors of German newspapers, and the return visit to Germany of the editors of English newspapers in the following year. Efforts were made by the English Committee to influence the German Emperor himself and his brother Prince Henry in 1907 and 1908, though there is no evidence that such efforts were helpful in any way. Indeed, in 1911 it seemed to observant statesmen that the Day for which Germany was, in the light of our later and perhaps our earlier knowledge, waiting had come. A carefully organized storm of indignation against England in connexion with the Morocco negotiations, and what is known as the Agadir incident, swept over Germany. F. W. Fox, as usual, flung himself into the danger zone. He was in Berlin in December 1911, and claimed that an interview which he then had with the German Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, had some relation to the famous visit in February 1912 of Lord Haldane to Berlin. It is strange to read now Fox's own comment on that visit, written in April 1914:

'His visit was the means of completely changing

the sentiment of the German people from a spirit of hostility to one of friendliness, and ever since then to the present time, April 1914, the relations between the two Governments of Germany and Great Britain have been exceptionally cordial. It is the opinion of those who are competent to judge, that the renewed and friendly relations between these two Governments, humanly speaking, seem to have been the means of averting a terrible European war during the recent Balkan crisis and war.'

Such was the faith of Mr. Fox in the efforts that had been made during a whole decade to secure a popular opinion in Germany favourable to peace. He believed beyond doubt that the result had been achieved, and the bolt from the blue of July 1914 must have astonished him more than most people. Yet, as we shall see, he never even then lost faith, and were he with us to-day he would regard the conference at Washington as the legitimate result of long efforts for peace rather than the product of human exhaustion or of dearly-won wisdom. He would have thrown himself into the new peace movement with all his old avidity, and indeed would have approached the problem with an instructed mind, for from 1906 to 1912 he had worked with characteristic energy at the organization of the China Missions Emergency Committee, and in the course of his work had visited Japan and China in the first half of the year 1907, thus acquiring a knowledge of Far Eastern questions necessary for the appreciation of world peace problems.

CHAPTER III

LICENSING REFORM

No more salient instance of F. W. Fox's enthusiasm and persistence could be found than the part that he played in the long struggle for the reform of the English licensing laws. The rejection in 1890 of Mr. Goschen's licensing proposals was purely negative, and it was felt, indeed the fact was emphasized by the charge made by members of the Government, that reform could not be secured by merely negative action—that some active effort to secure reform on temperance lines was needed. A meeting was called in London on 29th April 1891, presided over by Sir W. T. Houldsworth, M.P., at which it was resolved that 'it is expedient a Licensing Reform Bill should be introduced into Parliament, and that a committee be appointed to draft such a Bill and to continue negotiations with the various sections of the Temperance Reform Party and to report to another meeting of the Conference'. The committee consisted of Mr. Leonard Courtney, Mr. T. B. Bolitho, Mr. John Westlake, Sir Thomas Lea, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. R. Reynolds Fox, Mr. Albert Grove, Mr. Stephen Bourne, and Mr. F. W. Fox, and they drafted a Bill which provided for the establishment of Licensing Boards to be elected for each district, to which the

necessary powers should be transferred; for the consolidation of the various forms of licences then in existence, into two classes described as 'on' and 'off' licences, with the addition of a third class for hotels, railway refreshment rooms, and clubs; and for the reduction of the number of licences in a specified proportion to the population of each district by the double process of suspending for five years the issue of new licences, and by cancelling in each of the succeeding five years one-fifth of the licences deemed to be an excess, so that in ten years from the beginning of the system no more than the authorized maximum number would be in evidence. It was further proposed, in order to expedite the reduction of licences, to accept the surrender of existing licences in return for a bonus equivalent to net profits from the sale of intoxicating liquors on the premises during the preceding three years, the bonuses to be derived from a fund raised by a special limited rate on the remaining licensed houses in the district. The Bill further provided for local option after the first five years, except in the case of hotels, refreshment rooms, and registered clubs.

Mr. Fox felt that the Government should take up the matter in order that misrepresentations of the Government attitude towards temperance questions should be avoided, and he approached Lord Wolmer in order to secure an interview with Mr. Balfour on the subject. Lord Wolmer saw Mr. Balfour several times on the question, and at last the proposals contained in the Bill were submitted to the Prime Minister.

Mr. Balfour on 28th May 1892 wrote to Mr. Fox declaring that 'the particular solution of the very thorny questions involved which you present to me in the Draft Bill, would not be likely to remove the difficulties which surround the matter, or prove acceptable to those who hold views opposite to those held by you and those who think with you'. Consequently the proposed deputation did not take place, though Mr. Balfour expressly disclaimed 'any want of sympathy with the cause of Temperance'. His condemnation of the proposed compromise did not, however, conclude the matter, and in fact for once Mr. Balfour was wrong. His Government went out of office in the autumn of 1892, and the Liberal administration blessed a measure provided by the committee on very similar lines to that submitted to Mr. Balfour. It was introduced on 1st February 1893 into the House of Commons, was supported by Sir William Harcourt (the then Chancellor of the Exchequer), and secured a large majority on second reading, though further progress was impossible in that session. On 24th March Mr. Fox wrote to Sir William Harcourt and suggested that the whole question should be submitted to a Royal Commission with a view to a revised Bill acceptable to all parties. 'I feel confirmed,' he wrote, 'from recent interviews with some of the most prominent brewers, that a Licensing Bill can be framed which will not only secure the support of the brewers, but also the very general approval of the Temperance party.'

The next seven years showed Mr. Fox's persistence in a cause which had his full approval. The Liberal

Government had introduced their own Licensing Bill on 13th March 1893, and this was passed by the House of Commons and thrown out by the House of Lords. The whirligig of politics brought back the Unionist Government in the summer of 1895 with Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister. Fox at once set to work again to secure the appointment of a Royal Commission or Parliamentary Committee to inquire into the operation of the licensing laws. All the temperance leaders were not in favour of the course. Sir Wilfrid Lawson was very emphatic in his opposition: 'My own opinion is that the day has gone by for any more Committees on Temperance, Intemperance, or Temperance Bills. Those are subjects on which we have more ample information than perhaps on any subject. A committee now would be only a buffer to prevent action.' Fox, however, did not take this view. The old committee again approached Mr. Balfour (the First Lord of the Treasury), and on 10th September 1895 they pointed out that the Bill of the committee had been introduced into the House of Commons in 1893, 1894, and 1895, and that he himself had stated in the House that he would consider the appointment of a Royal Commission or Select Committee. 'We believe also that those who are pressing for reform and those who are interested in the trade are alike desirous of some speedy and decisive legislative measures, and would welcome such an inquiry as may serve to determine the extent and direction which such legislation should take.' The committee therefore urged the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee. Mr. Balfour on 7th

October 1895 promised to consider the idea, and in an interview with Mr. Malet, one of Mr. Balfour's secretaries, F. W. Fox was asked to secure evidence that both the liquor trade organizations and the temperance organizations approved of the proposed inquiry. Fox at once ascertained that the Trade (as it is pleasingly called) would support the proposal. Mr. Balfour then passed the applicants on to the tender mercies of Lord Salisbury, who deftly put off a proposed deputation in December 1895, and again in February 1896. But Fox was not the man to be daunted by such devices, and boldly attacked Lord Salisbury's secretary by letter and calls, with the result that Lord Salisbury handed the whole matter back to Mr. Balfour, who thus (if such a statement may be made about so eminent a statesman) was cornered. The importunate Fox was officially advised to place himself in direct communication with Mr. Balfour, and instantly did so. Mr. Malet in reply stated that Mr. Balfour could only consent to the appointment of a Select Committee or a Royal Commission on receipt of the assurance that the representatives of the Temperance party as well as of the Trade were united in desiring such an inquiry. Mr. Fox gave the assurance with alacrity. Mr. Broadhurst raised the question in the House on 20th February 1896, and Mr. Balfour replied that the Government had no objection to an inquiry into the licensing laws, but asked for an agreement as to the terms of reference among the persons interested in 'this difficult subject'. On 22nd February Mr. Malet (Mr. Balfour's secretary) asked Fox to suggest the wording of the Terms

of Reference for the proposed Commission of Inquiry on the understanding that he would obtain the approval of the Temperance party and the Trade to the terms. He without delay put himself into communication with the Church of England Temperance Society, the Bishop of Chester, the United Kingdom Alliance, and the secretary of the Trade party, and was in a position to sign a letter (jointly with Mr. Leonard Courtney, Mr. Westlake, and Mr. Stephen Bourne) to Mr. Balfour on 29th February suggesting the following terms of reference:

'To inquire into the operation and administration of the laws relating to the sale of intoxicating liquors and to examine and report upon the proposals that may be made for amending the aforesaid laws in the public interest.'

Such a reference, if initiated by the Government, would command universal assent. The letter went on to suggest a Parliamentary Joint Committee in preference to a Royal Commission, as such a committee would be more prompt, more representative of the legislature, and would have the authority to frame a Bill and facilitate its passage through Parliament. Early in March 1896 Fox was asked to submit names of persons likely and suitable to serve on such a committee, and at once suggested Mr. Courtney, Lord James of Hereford, the Duke of Westminster, the Bishops of London and Chester, Mr. Stafford Howard, Sir W. Houldsworth, Mr. C. E. Tritton, Mr. J. H. Raper, Mr. W. S. Caine, Mr. T. P. Whittaker, Sir J. H. Haslett, Sir Mark Stewart, Lady E. Biddulph, Lady Henry Somerset, Miss Balfour, Messrs. W.

Johnston, H. Broadhurst, A. Money Wigram, C. Bonser, E. North Buxton, C. Walker, G. Wyndham, and Earl Stanhope. It was to the observers of that date a shrewdly selected list and an evidence of Mr. Fox's close familiarity with the personalities on both sides of the battle.

After all, Mr. Balfour put aside the idea of a parliamentary or other committee and adopted the slower expedient of a royal commission. Mr. Courtney and Lord Balfour of Burleigh both declined the chairmanship, and at last Lord Peel accepted the onerous post, an appointment that equally satisfied the Trade and the Temperance Reformers. There were to be twenty-four members of the Commission, seven representing Parliament, seven the Trade, and ten as nominees of the Government. The Temperance Party had no official representatives, but Fox was not at all discouraged by the fact, and on 13th March 1896 wrote that 'the Government is proceeding in the most equitable way in the selection of Commissioners'. During this time F. W. Fox was a familiar figure at No. 10 Downing Street, and was acting generally as a *deus ex machina*. The Royal Commission was signed on 24th April 1896, and at last Fox had secured a signal triumph, since his endless energy, exercised alike on saints and sinners, had won from wearied politicians and statesmen the much-longed-for public inquiry. With him indeed the end of one herculean labour merely meant the beginning of another, and he immediately, with Mr. Eardley Wilmot, flung himself into the task of securing witnesses to come before the Commission. A Central Evidence Committee was

formed, and for two years it was actively engaged in obtaining a large amount of important evidence which was of great assistance to the Commission. Nor did the Committee die when the Commission issued its reports in July 1899. The Committee then became the Central Temperance Legislation Board with the object of securing the co-operation of all the temperance societies of Great Britain in obtaining legislation on the lines of the recommendations in Lord Peel's Minority Report. Lord Peel became President, with Mr. J. Hilton, Mr. Eardley Wilmot, and Mr. Fox as honorary secretaries. This Board did most useful work in educating public opinion and the opinion of the magistrates in favour of legislation on the lines of the report. It convened great meetings in all the chief centres of Great Britain and Ireland, played a part in the summoning of conferences of magistrates and others, besides dispatching to many magistrates and other prominent men pamphlets explanatory of the duties and the powers of the licensing magistrates under the existing licensing laws. On 9th November 1899 Lord Salisbury was approached by the old Westminster Committee in co-operation with the Church of England Temperance Society urging legislation on the lines either of the majority or the minority report. Lord Salisbury, in reply, asked for particulars of the non-contentious recommendations made by the Commission. These were sent to him on 21st November 1899, and on 7th December Lord Salisbury (who characteristically refused to receive a deputation) promised to give the recommendations careful consideration. In February 1900 Fox personally went to the Home

Office to see what was being done, and was assured that the matter was receiving careful consideration. Meantime, the Bishop of Winchester (the present Archbishop of Canterbury) had undertaken to introduce into the House of Lords a resolution in favour of legislative action on the recommendations of the Royal Commission common to the two reports, and Mr. Fox at once informed Dr. Davidson of the steps that had already been taken by the Westminster Licensing Reform Committee and the Church of England Temperance Society, and of the last reply of Lord Salisbury. He added: 'I trust that your Lordship will be in a position to arrange for the presence and support of at least a hundred peers when the question is brought before the House of Lords, so that Lord Salisbury may realize the strength of the interest felt in this matter throughout the country.' Fox did not trust 'the careful consideration' which His Majesty's Government was giving to the filed reports of the Royal Commission. Dr. Davidson could not issue a whip, but in his reply of 18th April 1900 he stated that if others should take this course he would be glad. The Government, however, had not concluded their 'careful consideration', and in November 1900 Fox, full of fine frenzy, attacked from a different point, and wrung, with the assistance of Mr. Westlake, an interview out of the Home Secretary on 6th December 1900, when the prospects of legislation were discussed. The Bishop of Winchester also saw Mr. Ritchie about the same time, and in the spring of 1901 legislation came at last on to the horizon. On 20th March we find Fox pressing Mr. Ritchie to see

that clubs are brought into the Bill, and Sir Matthew White Ridley, Mr. Ritchie's predecessor at the Home Office, was able to tell Mr. Fox on 12th March that the department was busy 'trying to frame a Bill which will produce reforms really good and of some effect'. But it is a long way to the horizon and was some way still to this much desired Bill. In October 1901 both Mr. Westlake and Fox were pressing in the newspapers for the introduction of a measure in the next session, and the latter was in consultation with various persons who had done much good in licensing reform work at Birmingham. Eventually Mr. Joseph Chamberlain came forward at a great meeting in Birmingham and advocated a limited measure of licensing reform. In the meantime a draft Bill was prepared and sent on to the Home Secretary. The continuous pressure on the Government was telling, and on 17th February 1902 Mr. Ritchie informed Mr. Fox that 'he would do his best to push his licensing bill on', the Bill having been actually introduced in January 1902. This Bill became law in August 1902. It was an Act mainly dealing with drunkenness. It inflicted penalties upon a drunken person in charge of a child, it protected the wife or husband of an habitual drunkard and prohibited the sale of liquors to such drunkards, and it gave the justices control over the structure of licensed premises and provided very stringent regulations as to the registration and inspection of clubs.

Useful as the legislation was, Mr. Fox had a larger goal in view. He took steps in 1901 to bring the powers and duties of the licensing justices before

the magistrates in the Quarter Sessions throughout the country in respect to the suppression of redundant houses, and Mr. Fox estimated that from 1901 to 1903 over 1,000 licenses were extinguished annually. The result was that the Trade began to press for legislation to take away from the justices their powers of refusal to renew licences. Meantime the famous Farnham case arose. Mr. Fox had full details of the beginnings of this trouble from a local resident. The Farnham Bench, following the example of Liverpool, had decided to reduce the number of licences in the petty sessional division on the ground of non-requirement, and appointed a committee to inquire into the circumstances of each individual public-house in Farnham. Some of the committee declared that police reports could not be considered as it would be the police who would object to renewals later on, and that therefore the committee, by considering the reports beforehand, would be disqualified to act as a judge later. The clerk upheld this view. Persons of importance were of opinion that the Farnham Bench were right. An amicable arrangement between representatives of the brewers and the magistrates already existed in Birmingham by which a reduction of unnecessary licensed houses was carried out. The brewers had a system of compensation among themselves. Every house was valued by an independent valuer and if a licensee was refused a licence the others paid the value, the amount being assessed by the same independent valuer as valued the resulting appreciation of the remaining licensed houses. In certain areas nearly fifty per cent. of the houses were selected

by the brewers themselves for surrender. Birmingham thus gave a valuable lead.

Meantime, the Farnham case had developed and Fox was on the scene arranging for a campaign against the renewal of certain licences. In February 1902 he is busy interviewing local objectors—not of course members of the bench. He was opposed to an arrangement which would only include the suppression of the houses doing the least business, as he was clearly of opinion that it was the duty of the magistrates to secure reductions which would reduce substantially the number of 'places of temptation'. Nine houses were selected for attack, and in fact nine houses were selected by the bench for suppression. There was an appeal against their decision to the King's Bench Division, and this having failed (on 2nd May 1902) the case was carried to the Court of Appeal, where it was argued on 14th June 1902, and a decision was given on 23rd June in which it was held that since the justices were entitled to take, or direct their officer or agent to take, objection to the renewal of licences, they were within their rights in making a preliminary investigation as to the licensed houses in their district; and the fact that they had done so, and adopted the report of the committee appointed for the purpose of making the investigation, did not debar them from hearing the applications and deciding on the question of renewal.[1] This decision of Collins M.R. and Lords Justices Mathew and Cozens-Hardy was of great importance. There was a threat to carry the case to the House of Lords in order to prevent further

[1] *The King on the prosecution of Jane Emma Smith* v. *Howard and others, Licensing Justices of Farnham* [1902], 2 K. B. 363.

refusals to grant renewals of licences, but nothing came of it, and the emergence of the Farnham case, which was largely due to the energy which F. W. Fox threw into it, had very wide and salutary effects. He pressed the decision home all over the country. During the autumn about twenty-four Quarter Sessions and three Borough Licensing Benches were urged to ascertain whether existing licences were in excess of requirements; and the sympathetic attitude of magistrates all over the country Mr. Fox attributed jointly to the widespread and long-continued leading and influence of the representatives of the older temperance societies throughout England, to the information laid before the Royal Commission, to the action of the Farnham magistrates, and to the passing of the Licensing Act of 1902.

The passing of the Licensing Act, 1904 (4 Edward VII, c. 23), came as a great blow to F. W. Fox, for he felt that it had destroyed the freedom of the justices to suppress unnecessary licences. The Act referred to Quarter Sessions, on a reference from the justices of the licensing district, any question of the renewal of an on-licence on any ground other than the grounds that the premises had been ill conducted or were structurally deficient or unsuitable, or other than grounds relating to the character or fitness of the licence-holder, or the void character of the renewal. Suppression by Quarter Sessions on other grounds had to be accompanied by payment of compensation in accordance with the Act. Thus the decision as to redundancy had to be exercised by a higher tribunal, and had to be accompanied by compensation if the house in question

were held to be redundant or unnecessary. The compensation fund was created in each Quarter Sessions area by the imposition of certain charges in respect of the renewal of on-licences, and the licence-holders were allowed to deduct their charges, despite any agreement to the contrary, from the rent. The compensation fund was therefore in effect provided by the brewers and others supplying intoxicating liquors. The Act, indeed, followed in many respects the precedent set at Birmingham, and has resulted in the suppression, on what seem like equitable terms, of a vast number of unnecessary licensed houses, and has brought the trade in alcohol within limits more easy to control. Fox, however, regarded the measure as one entirely in favour of the liquor trade, and described the Act of 1904 (which with other Acts was codified in 1910 without opposition) as 'that most reactionary and revolutionary Licensing Act of 1904, which took away the licensing power of the justices that they had possessed for centuries. This Act was passed and approved by the House of Lords without any mandate having been given in its favour by the people of England.' This is somewhat severe criticism, and has perhaps hardly been justified by the working of the new Act. Quarter Sessions is a weightier body than the justices of the old licensing districts; the principle of compensation from the Trade is a fair one; and the Act has so largely justified itself that subsequent Liberal governments have not attempted to alter its basis. Yet it was only natural that those who, like Mr. Fox, fought so strenuously for the broad principles of temperance and the removal of temptation from the poor should

resent any legislation which placed the licensed houses on a firmer basis. In fact, however, it was necessary to abolish the innumerable small licensed houses in back streets which were the most dangerous sowers of temptation, especially by reason of competition between the various licensed houses, and to have such houses as remained in the full light of day and public opinion. If alcohol is sold at all, the sale must be licensed, and if licensed the system should give every inducement to the licence-holders to meet a real and not a stimulated demand. Certainly, the efforts of Mr. Fox played a great part in securing the good effects which have sprung from the legislation of 1902 and 1904.

CHAPTER IV

ANTI-SLAVERY

F. W. Fox, throughout his life, had continuously at heart the great cause of the suppression of slavery. The Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society was one of the chief instruments of reform on which he relied. He was on the committee of the Society for nearly thirty years, from 1888 to the date of his death, when he was one of the senior members and vice-chairman. Probably the original influence that moved his mind and character towards this work, and all his African work, was the fact that when quite a young man, in 1865, he heard Dr. Livingstone deliver an address at the meeting of the British Association at Bath. Fox's emotions had been stirred, and the fact that another friend, Mr. I. Bevan Braithwaite, was an intimate associate of the great explorer no doubt lent a new prestige to the whole subject of African travel. He was present in Westminster Abbey when Dr. Livingstone's remains were interred there, on 14th April 1874. As chance or fate would have it, Fox's overseas activities began with an African adventure. In 1873 he had settled down at Grove House, Stoke Bishop, near Bristol, and there he entertained many interesting people and took part in the attractive spiritual and intellectual life that the Friends in Bristol

enjoyed. Among his guests in 1876 at Grove House were Captain Verney Cameron, the African explorer, just back from his journey across the continent, and General Sir Arthur Cotton, a friend and correspondent of General Gordon who was then, as Governor at Khartoum, administering the Sudanese Provinces, and suppressing with vigour the slave trade, largely organized by Zobeir Pasha in the provinces of Darfur and Bahr-el-Gazal. The talk stimulated Fox's imagination and his desire for travel. In 1881 he settled in London at Queen Anne's Gate, and in 1884 he went to Cairo on a business project relating to certain irrigation works then in contemplation by the Egyptian Government. It was the time and the place for adventures, and proved indeed the setting-off point for all the great affairs of Fox's life. With his usual *bonhomie* he started with a direct approach to the most likely source of adventure. It was known that General Gordon's life was in peril at Khartoum, and Fox decided to intervene, though it was his imagination rather than his knowledge of Egyptian and Sudanese affairs that dominated him. Fox asked himself how he could help. The obvious person to approach was the chief ex-slave-trader of the day, Zobeir Pasha. So he called upon him, and having secured admission to the presence (it may be supposed with some difficulty) he at once conquered the heart of that eminent man. It was one of the extraordinary things of F. W. Fox's life that he always managed to penetrate into the most impossible or unlikely places, and, like Daniel, came out alive, whether from the Foreign Offices of Europe or places like the private residence

of Zobeir Pasha. No place or person was too great or too dreadful for Francis Fox. He was no respecter of places or of persons. He felt no repugnance in the presence of any one, but at the most, and generally, a supreme curiosity. He was as immune to the chilliness of the golden youth of the embassies of Europe as to the possible fierceness of a retired slave-trader on a great scale. The interview with Zobeir Pasha must have been an almost humorous affair. Zobeir was a remarkable man, a black descendant of the Abbaside dynasty of Khalifs, who, having been condemned to death for rebellion and for inciting his son Suleiman, a rebel slave-hunter, to revolt against the Egyptian Government, managed to secure a reprieve, a pension, and an appropriate residence in Cairo. Slave-hunting was one of the chief evils in those Equatorial Provinces that Sir Samuel Baker (the discoverer of the Albert Nyanza in 1864) had conquered and annexed. In 1871 the Khedive had directed Sir Samuel not only to open up the Great Lakes but to suppress the slave trade, and the task was taken over by his successor, General Charles Gordon, the Governor-General of the Equatorial Provinces, and in 1877 Governor-General of the Sudan. In the course of his campaign against the rebel slave-hunters, Suleiman was killed, and the name of Gordon could hardly have been popular with the still powerful, if retiring, Zobeir. Yet when Gordon, early in 1884, was recalled from retirement to conduct the evacuation of the Sudan, he, having accidentally met Zobeir in Cairo, suddenly demanded that the ex-slave-hunter should accompany him to Khartoum to enable him to carry out his task. Gordon declared

that a 'mystic feeling' enabled him to trust this dusky descendant of the Khalifs, and he proposed, with the assent of even Sir Evelyn Baring, to create a buffer State, governed by Zobeir, between Egypt and the Sudan. Zobeir became a person of European interest and the British Cabinet hesitated: on the one hand was Gordon, on the other the Anti-Slavery Society, a society which never realized that the best way to deal with a rebellious boy is to turn him into a prefect. The Government were afraid of the Society and of the public opinion, in and out of Parliament, behind it, and so in March 1884 Gordon's request was refused—and perhaps unhappily refused.

Less than two months later F. W. Fox appears upon the Cairo scene and with no delay penetrates into the great, if disappointed, man's presence. He was apparently received in the grand style, and the respective dragomans looked at each other as the augurs of Rome were reputed to have looked. Zobeir was too great a man to have any petty prejudices as to the past. Perhaps a son more or less was a matter of indifference to a man in the position of a rebel chieftain in comfortable retirement, the Sultan *nominatim* for two months of a vast territory. However that may be, Fox and Zobeir were instantly on the most cordial terms, and Fox urged the ex-slave-hunter to use his influence with the Sudanese Arabs on behalf of General Gordon, now cut off from the world by the Mahdi's occupation of Berber and the Bahr-el-Gazal province. The Pasha assured him that the necessary action had already been taken. He read to Fox, with due emphasis, the letter that he had written to the

Sudanese chiefs. He at any rate knew how to penetrate the Mahdi's net.

Fox, who never spoke or understood any tongue but English, was a little baffled by the Arabic of Middle Egypt, but that difficulty was instantly overcome by the Sudanese dragoman in attendance. He translated the letter into English. Fox was still uncertain, but, producing his own dragoman, he verified the translation. Zobeir was very hopeful, and in fact had (so he said) sent a few days before three members of his own family to Khartoum, where they were due to arrive in mid-June and to return before mid-July. Fox allowed himself to be comforted by the suave Zobeir and was almost persuaded by his grave conviction and unconquerable optimism; and doubtless had the same 'mystic feeling' of confidence in his presence which had inspired General Gordon four months before. Zobeir took Fox warmly by the hand and led him, he Zobeir led him, to his carriage and 'expressed himself grateful for my having called upon him'. Had Fox conquered Zobeir, the politest man who ever snatched a slave? Neither the British Government, nor F. W. Fox, nor even Zobeir, could save Gordon, the man of destiny, the memory of whose wonderful name inspired the reconquest of the Sudan fourteen years later and the opening up of equatorial Africa from the north-east.

In due course the Anti-Slavery Society was pressed to take action in the circumstances that followed General Gordon's death. Captain Cameron at once wrote to Fox to know whether the Anti-Slavery Society would do anything to rescue the Equatorial Provinces from the power of Arab slave-traders, and

this led to a conference in which Mr. W. E. Forster took part, that had some influence on the drift of policy which eventually led to the re-conquest of the Sudan. The work of the Anti-Slavery Society, though it could not operate in the Sudan, was kept alive with even larger ends in view. Captain Cameron was one of the moving spirits and he was backed strenuously by Fox. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in July 1888 arranged a meeting in London, presided over by Lord Granville, at which Cardinal Lavigerie gave an address in pursuance of an anti-slavery crusade which he was conducting through Europe. The meeting greatly inspired both Fox and Captain Cameron, who started meetings throughout England in order to form an association for the organization of a series of patrols and anti-slavery stations on the Great Lakes and on the plateau above, in order to cut off the slave-hunters from their market. The idea fitted in with Captain Cameron's proposal to create a neutral highway through equatorial Africa open to all nations, but subject to restrictions respecting the importation of and trading in arms, alcohol, and slaves. Fox at once wrote to Lord Salisbury on the subject in a letter dated 18th January 1889, offering to work unofficially on the project. He received in reply the rather chilling reminder that 'the whole of the Lake District to which you refer is covered by the liberal provisions of the Act of Berlin, and falls within the limits of the free and neutral zone defined in that Act'. These liberal provisions, however, did not seem to check slave-hunting. Neither Fox nor Captain Cameron was comforted, and the position was more adequately

defined at a great meeting at Exeter Hall on 26th February 1889, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Benson) presided, in the following resolution:

'That this meeting deeply deplores the great increase in the Central African slave trade and the atrocities practised in its prosecution, and the depopulation of the country caused thereby; and while recording its warm appreciation of the official announcements which have already been made by the Prime Minister, strongly urges the Government, either alone or in conjunction with other Powers, to consider the possibility of devising measures calculated to diminish or suppress the evil; and to use all its influence to secure the maintenance of the Zambesi as an open highway.'

Captain Cameron's labours, however, secured little immediate result and Fox turned to America for help. He was in Boston in June 1889 and wrote a moving letter to the *Boston Transcript* of 13th June, which he 'broadcasted', to use a modern and expressive term. He put himself into communication with Mr. C. P. Huntington, the railway magnate, who grew warm with the thought of re-creating the American anti-slavery societies, then disbanded, 'their special work having been accomplished'. Mr. Huntington felt that it would, 'despite your cherished views as to the hatefulness of war', be necessary to use force in the campaign, and himself issued 'a few words to Americans on the slave trade in Africa', in which he declared that he did not agree with Francis W. Fox when he advocated reliance on wholly peaceful measures, as he thought that they should 'fight the devil with fire' and should effectively police the whole area from Suakim to the mouth of the Zambesi.

This again was 'broadcasted' and created great interest in American political circles. When Fox called upon President Harrison, the work done by Mr. Huntington was favourably commented upon. Fox was in his element in New York and became very friendly with Mr. Huntington's family. On his return to Europe he wrote a letter, dated 20th September 1889, to Mr. Huntington on Africa, which is almost a treatise on a financial scheme by which an American company would open up lines of communication on the Congo, the Nile, and from the Zambesi to Lakes Nyanza and Tanganyika, and from the vicinity of Mombasa to Kari Point on the Victoria Nyanza. Mr. Huntington promptly rejected the scheme; it was the business of the Belgians to undertake the task under their 'great-hearted ruler'. King Leopold at that date had not disclosed his colours and was the philanthropist of Europe. Moreover, clearly from the letter Mr. Huntington was too busy 'with other matters closer at hand', in other words, railways, to give the time to a scheme of such immense complexity as that advocated by Fox, a scheme indeed upon which the European Powers would have frowned. But his letters of 22nd January and 4th July 1890 show how strongly he felt the value of Fox's idealism, and how he longed for the day when he could give much to Africa and the Africans in means and personal help.

In the meantime the 'great-hearted ruler' of the Belgians had called an international conference at Brussels on the African slave trade, and Fox, on 23rd October 1889, wrote a letter of great length to

The Times on the subject, a weighty pronouncement that attracted widespread attention, especially in Brussels. It is interesting to note that Fox advocated the construction of four lines of railway:

(1) From the Lower Congo at Matadi to Stanley Pool (say 270 miles).
(2) Mombasa to Victoria Nyanza (say 400 miles).
(3) Suakim to Berber on the Nile (say 270 miles).
(4) River Zambesi to Lake Nyassa (say 200 miles).

Since that date all these railways have been constructed 'and are now in good working order and are already instrumental in conferring great blessings'.

Fox's insistence and real insight into the possibilities of opening up Central Africa were no doubt due to his practical training as an engineer. The letter certainly helped the Conference, which opened on 18th November 1889, and was attended by Fox as a representative of the Aborigines Protection Society. Lord Vivian, the British Minister at Brussels, was the chief British representative, and Fox saw a good deal of him.

'At our first interview Lord Vivian mentioned that our Foreign Office had sent him a copy of my letter to *The Times*, and that it would be laid among other official papers upon the table of the Slave Trade Conference. At the interview I also met Sir Edward Malet, who was then H.M. Ambassador at Berlin, and who subsequently rendered me effective help when I had occasion (later on) to visit Berlin on matters con-

nected with the Conference. Lord Vivian and Sir Edward Malet thought the questions relating to the right of search for slaves would prove far more difficult to get adopted at the Conference than those relating to the Liquor Trade.'

On 22nd November Lord Vivian introduced a party of delegates to King Leopold: the Rev. Horace Waller (Livingstone's fellow traveller), Mr. W. H. Wylde, Mr. C. H. Allen, and Mr. Teale, the representatives of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the Rev. J. Grant Mills representing the Native Races Liquor Society, and F. W. Fox representing the Aborigines Protection Society. 'The King shook hands with me most cordially and at once remarked that he had read with much interest my letter in *The Times*.' Fox then read to him an address from the Society with respect to the suppression of the slave trade and the prohibition of trade in alcohol and fire-arms. The King expressed his cordial sympathy and approval and, in answer to Fox's plea for a remembrance of the devoted labours of the African missionaries who had died at their work, the King aptly replied that he believed that Africa would one day be freed from the malaria that had slain so many Europeans in the same way that the Walcheren country, which once had killed so many English soldiers, had become the most healthy in the land and the favourite resort of his wife. The King urged us in England 'to assist him in untying the bonds with which he was bound in connexion with the Berlin Treaty'—he referred to imports free of duty—'as well as to give him powers

to restrict and prohibit the importation of alcoholic liquors and fire-arms.' The King, however, shared the views of Mr. Huntington that the Congo State required soldiers and fire-arms to suppress the slave trade, and Fox had no objection provided that it was a police force under legal control intended to protect life and liberty; so the great interview ended, and, despite much friendly taking of arms and cordiality, no one could say that Francis Fox had scored a victory. The King had played with him as a cat plays with a mouse, and had turned him into an advocate of the scheme of import duties which were destined to ruin the Congo Territory.

On 19th November came the welcome news that President Harrison, as the result of the action of Mr. Huntington and others, had appointed General Sanford to represent the United States. Fox might have claimed the result as the fruit of his American visit. He had indeed not quite ended his American efforts. On 2nd November he had written to Mr. Secretary Blaine enclosing a copy of *The Times* letter and asking for support in the effort to suppress the African traffic in alcohol. Mr. Blaine replied that he had by the same mail instructed the United States Minister at Brussels to support any measures that might be brought before the Conference to suppress the African liquor trade, provided that these did not involve his Government in any liability to resort to forcible action in Africa.

On 21st December 1889 Fox wrote to Lord Salisbury a letter of great length, urging British action in the way of road or railway construction from the north

end of Lake Tanganyika to Niangwe, the centre of the slave trade on the tributaries of the Upper Congo. He also pointed out the need of the Congo State to levy duties for revenue purposes, and in this way he played into the hands of King Leopold and reflected the results of the famous interview. The letter drew only a formal acknowledgement from the British Foreign Office, but probably had substantial and evil effects. Internal difficulties among the various anti-slavery societies, moreover, showed themselves at the Conference. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society felt that the demand of the Aborigines Protection Society for the prohibition of the importation and sale of alcohol and fire-arms might jeopardize the success of the negotiations for the suppression of the slave trade. There was a good deal in the objection, for King Leopold was likely to use the prohibition demand for purposes that would strengthen slavery in the long run. But Fox thought otherwise and addressed a strong appeal in favour of the prohibition of the importation of fire-arms and alcohol, as well as the suppression of the coast and inland slave trade, to various British organizations, with the result that over 200 memorials and petitions on the subject were dispatched to the Conference from various religious and other organizations, as well as memorials from the corporations of London, Birmingham, and Plymouth.

Meantime, the true aspects of things in the Congo Free State began to disclose themselves. Fox's life was considerably affected by mysterious beings that not the most skilled astrologer could have read into his horoscope; and not the least mysterious visitant

was one who suddenly appeared in London in the autumn of 1889. This person was Colonel George Williams, a mystic gentleman who was as black as Zobeir Pasha and almost as elusive. He was an American negro, one of the ripest fruits of the campaign in favour of the African negro that Fox and Mr. Huntington had conducted in the New World. He had been deeply aroused by the needs of the mother stock from which his ancestors had been snatched by an earlier generation of slave-hunters, and he had sped over to Europe in order to attend the Slave Trade Conference. He was a most mysterious creature, poor yet determined, with an intense belief that Providence would supply all his needs, and he was in fact and in some measure financed from time to time by Mr. Huntington and others.

This black, mysterious colonel pursued Fox to Brussels, and there he announced that he was off to the Congo to observe the methods of the Congo Free State. It was a dramatic event, this return of a freed man to the land of his fathers. He flashed round Africa like an accusing spirit. From the Stanley Falls he wrote to King Leopold and to the President of his own Republic letters drawing attention to the great evils existing in the Congo State from bad administration. He observed that slavery everywhere was in full force, and he managed to do a little business on his own account, for he brought back to England ivory tusks and other native products, which he hypothecated to F. W. Fox. But he carried his tusks a long way, for from the Congo he passed to the West Coast of Africa, presumably his far-off

place of origin, and thence he went on to South Africa and north to Zanzibar, returning to England by way of Egypt. It is not surprising to read that his constitution was undermined by the exposure and fatigue of those vast journeyings; and in fact he died at Blackpool late in 1891, on his way back to America. Mr. Huntington, on 17th April 1891, writes pathetically of the mysterious colonel and the not less mysterious monarch whom he had indicted:

'I note what you write of George Williams and have received several letters from him written from various places in Africa, in all of which he criticises very severely the way in which the Congo Free State is governed; but I cannot believe that what he writes is true, for I am quite sure that the King of Belgium is a thoroughly good man, whose fair mind could not permit him to let any wrong be done to the people of that country if he could prevent it.'

Mr. Huntington, despite his great powers and ability, which shine through the striking letters that he wrote to F. W. Fox, letters of esteem and almost affection, was at heart a Puritan of the old school, a Christian with a great deal of faith in other people. But he was mistaken in King Leopold. Colonel Williams, the accusing angel, was quite right. What the King had asked Fox to press for and what Fox pressed Lord Salisbury to give, a relaxation of the Berlin Act enabling the King to levy import duties, he secured from the Great Powers in 1890. In a brief space, the man who was in 1876 the moving spirit of the International Association for the Suppression of the Slave Trade and the Opening-up of Central Africa, had

turned the State which he had acquired through the agency of Stanley and the foolishness of the Great Powers into the Congo Slave State, in which the native population farmed out the vast lands to great companies, and was subjected to

'A system of compulsory labour in the collection of produce on behalf of the State, enforced by barbarous punishment and responsible for continual and devastating warfare.'[1]

Leopold II had achieved his ambition and by a skilful pretence of philanthropy had drugged two continents as well as Francis Fox. The Brussels Conference had led to a Slave Trade Act, which the representatives of the Powers met at Brussels on 2nd July 1891 to ratify. America could not sign, but hoped to do so later, and the President expressed the highest approval of the provisions of the Act. France and Portugal required time before ratifying; not so Belgium. The ink of the Treaty was still wet when the iniquities of the Congo began to ring through the world. Colonel Williams had told less than the truth. Indeed it was after his death that the worst horrors took place; but he had seen these horrors in preparation before he and his collection of ivory tusks, spears, shields, and arrows from Africa came to a resting-place at Blackpool. He died in the hope that his books on his African travels would be published. Those books, if they ever see the light, should make interesting reading: the re-visiting of

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. xii, p. 663.

slave races by one of their own stock, a branch that had achieved freedom in another hemisphere.

Long before this date, while the Conference was still in progress and it was feared that Germany and Holland would oppose Lord Salisbury's proposal for the imposition of a large import duty upon all spirituous liquors into Africa, Fox and the Rev. J. Grant Mills, the leaders of the Native Races Liquor Society, visited Berlin with the object of trying to bring pressure upon the German Government to remove its opposition to the proposed duties. This was in April 1890. In a letter from Berlin, dated 14th April, to Lord Vivian he describes his numerous interviews with great officials, who, as always, were cordial. In the present case perhaps they were too effective, for the duty question gave King Leopold his opportunity. Sir John Kirk, writing from Brussels on 2nd June 1890, considered 'that we have here justified ourselves in taking up the liquor question in Africa against the warnings and protests of the gentlemen of the Anti-Slavery Society'. Yet it is doubtful if the policy was right. It was certain, even if Germany gave way, that the Congo Government would not accept the duty on spirits as an equivalent for the import duties. It was these duties that were the real danger, and English statesmen were deceived by the moderation of the proposed general duties. If it became a question between the duties on spirits and general import duties the Congo was bound to win and the fight against slavery was lost. It is easy to be wise after the event, but King Leopold at any rate was wise from his point of view before the event, and the Great Powers were wrong.

King Leopold recognized the weight that Fox carried and asked him to lunch on 24th October 1890 to talk matters over: 'I was shown into the King's presence who at once asked to take my arm to walk into the luncheon room.' The interview was significant. The King wanted pressure brought to bear on Holland: he 'evidently wished to impress me with the extreme peril in which the General Act of the Slave Trade Conference was being placed through and in consequence of the obstinate attitude of Holland which still refuses even to send a representative to discuss the question of the Import Duties proposed to be levied'. Fox went at once to the Hague to urge the Dutch Government to send a representative, and it seems clear that he so impressed the Dutch Minister whom he saw that, after swearing they would never consent, the Dutch Cabinet actually dispatched a representative to the appropriate technical committee.

The Society of Friends saw the real issue, and in a memorial to Lord Salisbury opposed the Congo proposal sanctioning general import duties (since they injure legitimate commerce, the greatest enemy of slavery), but supported specific duties necessary to enable the Congo State to carry out the measures proposed by the Conference. Holland, however, eventually came into line, and King Leopold secured the right to levy duties, and with the right the powers which he so shamefully abused. Thus the Anti-Slavery Conference temporarily nullified its achievements. Europe with one hand pledged itself to the suppression of the African slave traffic, and with the other hand created a slave State. Fortunately

the profound common sense and humanity of the Belgian people in the long run overcame the evil, but only after a period of misery in Africa which is painful to recall, and was probably unparalleled in the history of native races.

Four years after the passing of the Brussels General Slave Trade Act of 1890 the Anti-Slavery Committee of the Society of Friends issued a remarkable indictment, for the framing of which Fox was chiefly responsible, of the appalling misery in Africa and other places due to the almost unchecked practices of the slave trade. It was pointed out that the devastation and destruction of human lives in equatorial Africa due to the slave traffic saw no abatement: that something like 50,000 slaves were annually shipped into Asia despite the costly vigilance of the British fleet: that slavery was openly carried on in Morocco, and that slavery and the slave trade were rampant throughout the great basin of the Congo under the administration of the Free State: that it was unchecked in Portuguese Africa, and that 40,000 to 50,000 slaves were held in bondage under the British Protectorate of Zanzibar. The Zanzibar question, at any rate, could be dealt with by Great Britain, and to this end Francis Fox set his mind and organized his Quaker forces. Mr. H. S. Newman suggested the formation of a Friends' Industrial Missionary station in the island of Zanzibar or Pemba. A great meeting was held at Princes Hall on 31st May 1895, at which the Marquis of Lorne presided, which demanded the enforcement of the Slave Trade Act of 1890 and the abolition of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba in accord-

ance with the treaty and proclamation of 1873. On 12th July 1895 Fox sent letters to Lord Salisbury and Lord Kimberley on the whole subject, with special reference to the economic conditions of Zanzibar and Pemba, with a plan for dealing with the difficulties of the clove planters. This letter was forwarded to Sir Arthur (then Mr.) Hardinge, the Consul-General at Zanzibar, for comment, and was subsequently printed in the Blue Book on East African affairs. Mr. Hardinge approved of Fox's financial scheme, which at any rate 'would be an earnest of our desire to act equitably'. On the other hand, the proposals appear at first to have been condemned by the Sultan of Zanzibar's advisers. On 5th December 1895 Fox had an interview with the appropriate official at the Foreign Office and followed this up by a letter in which he pointed out that the need for compensation to the planters could be overcome by proper economic improvements introduced with the abolition of slavery. In May 1896 Fox informed the Sultan's advisers of the plan to establish a mission for the training of freed slaves in connexion with agricultural employment. This announcement followed on the promise by the British Government that measures were to be undertaken to abolish the legal status of slavery in Zanzibar. Fox's proposal was welcomed by the adviser of the Sultan, General Sir Lloyd Matthews, as 'very practical, and likely to be most useful'. These negotiations were the means of first opening up the island of Pemba to Christian missionaries, to the Universities and Roman Catholic missions at Zanzibar, as well as the Friends' missionaries. The Friends were the first

to arrive and opened their mission at Chaki Chaki in January 1897. Fox's work was recognized very fully both by Mr. Hardinge (who was in England in the autumn of 1896) and others, and it may be said at once that it was one of the most directly successful efforts of Francis Fox's laborious public life. He determined to see the matter through in person and arrived in Zanzibar at the end of February 1897.

It was in April 1895 that Fox suggested to Mr. H. S. Newman the idea of the Society of Friends establishing an industrial agricultural mission in the island of Zanzibar or of Pemba, but Fox had in fact made a similar proposal in *The Friend* of 17th September 1894. A subsequent article in the same journal by Mr. Newman was issued as a pamphlet by the Friends' Anti-Slavery Society, in which Fox's proposal was approved, and from this basis the whole movement arose. In the issue of *The Friend* for 17th July 1896, Fox published an account of the steps already taken and the information supplied by General Matthews as to suitable sites for the mission, and the opinion expressed by Mr. Hardinge that coloured superintendents from the United States would answer admirably in Pemba. Here we seem to see the influence of the late Colonel George Williams at work. In December 1896 Fox welcomed the idea of Mr. Newman visiting Zanzibar and Pemba on behalf of the Society of Friends, and in a letter to Newman of 2nd December declared that 'the subject of establishing industrial agricultural mission stations had for many years prior to 1895 formed a deep conviction in my mind, that such a course of action may be one of the best and most

effective methods of opening up the African continent to the blessings of Christianity and Civilization, and the conviction was undoubtedly greatly confirmed by the life and work of Mackay in Uganda'.

Fox arrived in Zanzibar at the end of February 1897 and saw Mr. Newman on the French mail boat about to return home.

On 13th April 1897 Fox wrote to him from Zanzibar to announce the achievement of the great goal. He said:

'The proclamation of the decree for the immediate abolition of the local status of slavery made by H.R.H. the Sultan at the Palace on Tuesday, 6th April, may be said, figuratively speaking, to have converted the two islands of Zanzibar and Pemba from a land of bondage into a land of liberty. The great social and economic revolution which will prove the death blow to East African slavery has been carried out so far amidst every outward sign of peace and good order.'

Fox largely attributes the credit of the peaceful advent of the new law to Mr. Hardinge and Sir Lloyd Matthews

'for the extremely careful way in which they have arranged for its public promulgation, and especially to Mr. Hardinge for his skilful and judicious drafting of its provisions.'

In fact it followed immediately on the recognition of the new Sultan by the British authorities. A new man came to new things. The old Sultan might not have taken so kindly to the promulgation of the law of universal freedom to the heads of the clans and other leading Arabs. The slaves became the paid

employees of the Arab chiefs, to whom the Sultan tendered the advice of conciliation and kindliness as the means of retaining their former slaves on the plantations. In fact the anti-slavery decree slowly but effectively affected the conditions of the labour market of Zanzibar. The ubiquitous reformer did not stay long. He was back in London in May 1897, ready for fresh adventures. He had delighted in his flying visit. He stayed in the Consulate House, and slept in the bedroom used by Stanley in 1890 on his return from the expedition to relieve Emir Pasha. He found a good deal of missionary activity and heard a native clergyman preach in Swahili on the healing of the blind man. He visited the Young Men's Training College at Kiungani, belonging to the Universities' Mission, and the Training School for their sons at Mbweni. He entered heartily into the European life of the islands. Fox's account or diary of his visit shows that his insatiable curiosity about everything was at work all the while. He was always a patient observer:

'It was amusing to watch the female slaves decked out in their gaudy attire and to notice the peculiar Zanzibar swing walk. The walk is a marked sign of the superiority of the Zanzibar natives over those of the African continent.'

Had this happy state of the island slaves been known in the days of extreme agitation in England, it may be doubted if so many piteous appeals would have been issued on the subject. The slavery conditions in Zanzibar were probably not worse than those of the slaves in the United States of America

before the North and South War. It was, of course, necessary to abolish slavery, but the slavery was of a very different type from the dreadful conditions that obtained in the Congo basin. The abolition in Zanzibar, however, was a condition precedent to stern action elsewhere, both in Africa and South America. Instructions for the abolition of slavery were received from the British Foreign Office on 20th March 1897. The translation of the instructions into action was extraordinarily rapid, and a begetter—if such a term might be used—of the transformation was able to see the actual machinery of reformation. He was indeed, as he might well be, a person of importance, and was received on entering the Sultan's presence 'with military salutes'. Fox did not object, but doubtless salved his conscience with the thought that the military were really policemen in disguise. He, of course, met every one—Arab, native, and English—of interest, but perhaps the most interesting person, certainly the most mysterious, was the famous or infamous Tippoo Tib, the Arab slave-trader and slave-raider. Fox and he, when they met on 21st March 1897, at 9.30 in the morning, were certainly on the friendliest terms.

'Tippoo Tib looked almost sixty-five years of age and he had a pleasant expression on his face'—

a man much of the type of that other pleasing slave raider of Fox's acquaintance, the mysterious Zobeir. Tippoo Tib told Francis Fox (through an interpreter, the only witness of the priceless interview) many tales, and told them well and, possibly, with gusto. He had, it seems, succoured Livingstone near Lake Bang-

weolo, when he was about to be deserted by his remaining supporters; not only succoured him, but led him gently to Lake Tanganyika and supplied him with fresh garments and food. Livingstone told him 'that the natives all called him "David"'. He was very kind and gentle to the natives. He used to carry his heavy gun on his shoulder: he would never allow any one to carry it for him. His other shoulder was weak, owing to the injuries that he had sustained from a lion. Tippoo Tib was a perfect philanthropist. He had helped all the travellers: Cameron, Stanley, Wiseman, Junker, Lentz. From his own account, Tippoo was a very tender-hearted man, but, Fox adds, on a table close by the reformed trader was Dr. Hinde's book on *The Fall of the Arab Power*, describing some unpleasant fighting with Tippoo Tib's son. These great slave-traders had, at any rate, naughty sons, even Zobeir. But these were the lighter sides of Fox's work relating to slavery. The work itself produced results which are part of the history of civilization.

CHAPTER V

CHINA MISSIONS

FROM October 1906 to March 1912 F. W. Fox turned his attention to the congenial subject of China Missions, and devoted a considerable portion of his time to the work and interests of the China Mission Emergency Committee. The question of the operations of Christian missionaries in China has caused international difficulties for some 300 years. The early Roman Catholic missionaries in the sixteenth century, led by Father Ricci, were wise, discreet, and unobtrusive, but in the seventeenth century the Dominican and Jesuit missionaries fell out, and the Dominicans insisted on referring such a purely tribal question as the worship of ancestors to the Pope as a religious matter. This was much resented, but the Emperor K'anghsi (1662–1722) deigned to make an official pronouncement to the effect that the family rites in question were not religious. The Dominicans persisted, and a perpetual national antagonism to Christianity was the result. The high-handed action of the missionaries in adopting the emblems of official rank, with all the legal consequences and privileges, intensified the bitterness, and Sir Robert Kennaway Douglas, in his chapter on China in the *Cambridge Modern History* (vol. xii, p. 515), states that 'Mis-

sionaries of all societies, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, have been accused of using influence in favour of converts in the native Courts of Justice; and, doubtless, Roman Catholic missionaries have freely used their influence for political as well as religious aims'. Thus there existed in the year 1898 a state of antagonism between the missionaries and the small but determined body of converts, supported by the European Powers, on the one hand, and the bulk of the population, backed by the mandarins, on the other. The missionaries had no official status, but the Roman Catholics not only acted as if they possessed it, but induced the French Government to bring pressure to secure the legal privilege. In 1899 the Chinese Government issued an edict 'officially granting to missionaries of all creeds a political status of an important character'. This was at once put in force by the Roman Catholic missionaries, but the privilege was wisely declined by the Protestants, and it was in fact withdrawn in 1908. The Roman Catholics created friction, and seemed incapable of adapting themselves to their environment. Sir Robert Douglas says that 'on the whole the Chinese have a case, more especially against the Roman Catholic missionaries'. Western unwisdom had hardened the heart of the people against those principles of Christianity which might well, as their earlier history shows, have spread like fire among the Chinese. The rapid growth of the Protestant missionary movement after the terrible events of the year 1900, when the Chinese Anti-Missions and Anti-Foreign Movement strove to destroy all missionary stations, and in fact killed

upwards of 290 Protestant missionaries and their wives and children, and 16,000 Chinese converts, is one of the notable facts of Christian history. In 1876 there were in China 473 Protestant missionaries and their wives, and 13,035 communicants; and in 1900 there were 2,785 missionaries and their wives and children, and 110,000 communicants; while in 1905, after the Boxer Movement, there were 3,750 missionaries and about 250,000 full church and probationary members, and about one million persons 'more or less closely connected with the Protestant Christian Churches of China'. These figures are drawn from a report prepared by F. W. Fox, Professor Alexander Macalister, and Sir A. R. Simpson, in 1908. In 1906 Fox had definitely thrown himself into the movement for the Christianization of China, and on 12th January 1907 he addressed the following letter to Mr. Andrew Carnegie:

Every now and again a momentous crisis in the world's history arises demanding special action and thought to grapple with it. We are now witnessing such a crisis in the Far East in the awakening and new birth of China and the Chinese, of a vast empire of 400 millions of people, nearly one-third of the population of the world. By the command of the Chinese Government and of its Viceroys, numberless schools and a central university are being established in every province in China in order to disseminate western culture and civilization, so that China may acquire the great powers which western nations are seen to possess. If these schools and universities can be to any extent occupied by American and English scholars of ability who are Christian men and women, the whole of China may be pervaded by Christian influences in a manner hitherto impossible.

Outside all our missionary societies it is felt that the mind and heart of America and England should be aroused to understand the great responsibility that rests upon these two Christian nations in their relation to that vast empire of the East; that they should seize the great opportunity which has been laid before them, not only to pour into China the light of western culture and civilization, for which she pleads, but with it to pour the quickening influences of our Christian faith, from which all our culture and civilization have sprung.

Sir Robert Hart, the able and well-known head of the China Maritime Customs, asserts—and no one has a better right to know than he—that the only salvation from the yellow peril will be either the partition of China among the European Powers or a miraculous spread of Christianity that shall transform the empire. The partition of China will not take place, and our only alternative is a Christianized Far East. It is stated by a missionary in China that the battle-ground where the East will be lost or won, between the materialism of war and mammon on the one hand, and the forces of peace and goodwill on the other, will be in the field of intellectual culture. Shall Christianity win the mind of the thinking East or shall Confucianism, mightier than ever under the names of agnosticism and atheism, triumph for ages to come in the garb of modern progress?

The miraculous spread of Christianity demanded by Sir Robert Hart will come when, and only when, true missionary statesmanship shall be able to organize the vast forces of Christendom for a new and overwhelming crusade that shall utilize and strengthen all the institutions and agencies now in the field, energize them with greater power, and add thereto an army of fresh workers mobilized for new and commensurate methods of advance.

Recent information has been received in London

which shows that there are now upwards of 14,000 young Chinese students recently arrived and now residing in Tokio, Japan, for the purpose of studying. These are the very flower of the youth of China, destined, after a course of two years' study, to return to their own land and to take up there the highest official duties. They are unfortunately surrounded in Japan by very adverse influences. The representatives of the Church Missionary Society of Great Britain are extremely anxious that special and immediate efforts should be made to surround these young men with higher and nobler influences, and I am informed that this great Missionary Society will arrange to dispatch at once to Tokio from China a large number of their best qualified missionaries now residing in China, who have already learnt and can speak the Chinese language. But, unfortunately, owing to the large extension of their work in China and elsewhere, the Church Missionary Society is too crippled by want of funds to enable it to give effect to this proposal, but if some person or persons would promptly offer to contribute a few thousand pounds, it would at once undertake to carry out the great and important work which it so earnestly desires to accomplish.

When I heard of the remarkable opening for influencing the future rulers of China, and when I realised that this piece of work might have most momentous results in the history of China, and thereby in unspeakable ways the political and religious history of the world, I then began to feel that it was my duty to lay this great problem before your attention for your earnest consideration, and, if possible, for your help. I accordingly enclose herewith a copy of a letter which I have just received from the Rev. B. Baring-Gould, the well-known and much esteemed secretary of the Church Missionary Society (Salisbury Square, London). From the enclosed

letter you will see how urgent and important is the need for immediate monetary help.

I earnestly hope that you may be willing to give thoughtful consideration to the great question of helping forward the vast Chinese Empire in the ways of peace and righteousness which this remarkable opening of the young Chinese students now residing in Tokio seems to offer. Hoping Mrs. Carnegie and you are well, and with kindest regards,

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

FRANCIS WM. FOX.

Fox followed his usual policy, and, indulging in his love of travel, determined to see the problem on the spot. He writes:

'It seemed best that I should pay a visit to China and attend the Centenary Missionary Conference at Shanghai held towards the end of April and beginning of May, and also the World's Student Missionary Federation Conference at Tokio, Japan, towards the end of March 1907. Professor Alexander Macalister, Sir Alexander Simpson, Lord William and Lady Florence Gascoigne Cecil were also at Shanghai to represent the China Emergency Committee. The Committee aimed at raising £100,000 in aid of united missionary work, such as Union Medical Hospitals, Union College work for training native evangelists and pastors, also in aid of the Christian Literature Societies in China. The Committee, however, only succeeded in raising about £20,000.'

Professor Macalister, Sir A. Simpson, and F. W. Fox went by way of the Canadian Pacific Railway to Japan. In Tokio they attended the International Conference of the World's Students' Christian Federation from 3rd April to 7th April, and noted the

remarkable progress of Christianity in Japan and Korea, and among the 15,000 Chinese students then in Japan, and realized the extent of Japanese influence over China and the Chinese. From Japan, Fox and the other delegates passed on to Shanghai to attend the missionary conferences held there from 26th April to 7th May 1907, and to pay a series of visits to missionaries and missionary stations.

The China Mission Emergency Committee, of which Sir Robert Hart was President and F. W. Fox one of the Honorary Secretaries, had been called into existence (at the instance of the late Dr. Timothy Richard, of Shanghai, as representative of the Anglican Church and the Free Churches of Great Britain) 'to consider in what ways it might assist the missionary societies and their representatives in China in adjusting and extending their existing operations, so that the momentous demands now made upon them by the surprising changes of thought and policy that have so suddenly emerged may be adequately met'. In the appeal to the nation on behalf of medical training and other educational work in China, issued by the Committee in February 1909, it is plainly stated that

'We have not come into existence to establish denominational institutions as such, nor to multiply divisions by adding another sectional society or institution to those already in the field. Where good work is being done, and where institutions exist capable of wide extension by co-operation between men of different churches, we are prepared, so far as the funds placed at our disposal admit, to aid in broadening the basis and increasing the efficiency of these institutions. But our own aim is not primarily

evangelistic but educational, and our appeal is therefore not to the supporters of any particular missionary society, but to the nation as a whole, because we believe that, especially in educational work, we have a national responsibility to discharge.'

It was with these views in mind that Fox and his co-workers came to Shanghai, and attended not only the famous Conference, but many subordinate meetings. The leading medical missionaries of China attending the Conference held a meeting at the head-quarters of the London Missionary Society, presided over by Sir A. Simpson, at which the representatives of the Society were present, and various other gatherings of the same type were held, including a reception given by Sir John and Lady Jordan to the Protestant missionaries of Peking. Before the representatives of the Appeal Committee scattered into different parts of China on visits to mission stations, the great Shanghai Conference was held in the Martyrs' Hall of the building erected by the Chinese Y.M.C.A. in memory of Chinese and foreign martyrs and confessors of the faith. It was attended by 1,200 visitors and delegates representing about 50 different Western missionary societies. 'The leading feature of the Conference was the earnest desire manifested by all its members that a practical unity of the Western Evangelical churches should be presented to the Christian converts, and that, as far as practicable, the foundation of a United Native Chinese Church should be truly and promptly laid, as it was unanimously felt that the unhappy national, historical, provincial, and local divisions of Western Christianity should, as far as possible, be

excluded from the new Christian Church of China.' The numerous resolutions passed at the Conference confirm this general estimate supplied in the report on the Conference drawn up by Mr. Fox and his companions. The following resolutions passed at the Conference exhibit in detail the policy adopted and intended to govern the up-building of a great native Christian Church:

RESOLUTION 2.

Whereas it is frequently asserted that Protestant missions present a divided front to those outside, and create confusion by a large variety of inconsistent teaching, and whereas the minds both of Christian and non-Christian Chinese are in danger of being thus misled into an exaggerated estimate of our differences, this Centenary Conference, representing all Protestant missions at present working in China, unanimously and cordially declares:

That this Conference unanimously holds the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the supreme standard of faith and practice, and holds firmly the primitive apostolic faith; further, while acknowledging the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed as substantially expressing the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, the Conference does not adopt any creed as a basis of church unity, and leaves confessional questions to the judgement of the Chinese Church for future consideration, yet in view of our knowledge of each other's doctrinal symbols, history, work, and character, we gladly recognize ourselves as already one body, teaching one way of eternal life, and calling men into one holy fellowship, and as one in our teaching as to the love of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, in our testimony as to sin and salvation, and our homage to the Divine and Holy

Redeemer of men; one in our call to the purity of the Christian life, and in our witness to the splendours of the Christian hope.

We frankly recognize that we differ as to methods of administration and church government; and that some among us differ from others as to the administration of baptism; and that there are some differences as to the statement of the doctrine of Predestination or the Election by Grace. But we unite in holding that these exceptions do not invalidate the assertion of our real unity in our common witness to the Gospel of the Grace of God.

RESOLUTION 3.

That in planting the Church of Christ on Chinese soil we desire only to plant one church under the sole control of the Lord Jesus Christ, governed by the Word of the Living God, and led by His guiding Spirit.

While freely communicating to these churches the knowledge of truth, and the rich historical experience to which older churches have attained, we fully recognize the liberty in Christ of the churches in China planted by means of the missions and churches which we represent (in so far as these churches are by maturity of Christian character and experience fitted to exercise it), and we desire to commit it in faith and hope to the continued safekeeping of its Lord, when the time shall arrive, which we eagerly anticipate, when it shall pass beyond our guidance and control.

RESOLUTION 4.

That in this view we cordially undertake to submit very respectfully to the home churches which have sent us to China the following recommendations:

(*a*) That they should sanction the recognition by their missionaries of the right of the churches in China planted by them to organize themselves in

accordance with their own views of truth and duty, suitable arrangements being made for the due representation of the missionaries on their governing bodies until these churches shall be in a position to assume the full responsibilities of self-support and self-government.

(*b*) That they should abstain from claiming any permanent right of spiritual or administrative control over these churches.

RESOLUTION 5.

This Conference having in Resolution 2 thankfully declared our essential unity as already existing, earnestly desire further that the unity should be fully manifested and made effective in the Chinese Church, and considers that the most urgent practical step for the present is to endeavour to unite the churches planted in China by different missions of the same ecclesiastical order, without regard to the nationality or other distinctive features of the several missions under whose care they have been formed, recognizing the inherent liberties of these Chinese churches as members of the Body of Christ.

RESOLUTION 6.

The Conference rejoices to know that steps in this direction have already been taken by various sections of the mission body, and further resolves to appoint a committee to act for it as furthering and co-ordinating all such action. The committee to be constituted as follows:

It shall consist in the first instance of eight sub-committees, each representing one or more of the existing forms of church order.

RESOLUTION 7.

While the appointment of these committees contemplates the formation of six or more church organizations for the Chinese Church in the first instance, it

is the earnest hope of this conference that these Chinese bodies, with the assistance and advice of the foreign missionaries, may from the first prepare to unite with each other in the closest practicable bonds of Christian fellowship, either in organic ecclesiastical union, or as a free federation, as they may be led by their own interpretation of the mind of Christ, and by the guidance given them in the providence of God, and through the teaching of the Holy Spirit.

Further, in order that the spread of Christ's Kingdom may be promoted in China, and that the representatives in that country of the various missionary societies should come closer together, it was resolved, 'That this Conference recommends the formation of a federal union under the title "The Christian Federation of China".'

That the objects of the federation shall be to foster and encourage the sentiment and practice of union, to organize united effort wherever and whenever possible, and in general to seek through all such effort to hasten the establishment of the Kingdom of God in China.

That the work of the federation shall be:

(*a*) To encourage everything that will demonstrate the existing essential unity of Christians. To watch for opportunities of united prayer and mutual conference between representatives of different bodies of Christians in China; and, as opportunity offers, to initiate and arrange for representative meetings for the furtherance of Christian unity.

(*b*) To devise and recommend plans whereby the whole field can be worked most efficiently and with the greatest economy in men and time and money.

(*c*) To promote union in educational work.

(*d*) The encouragement of the consideration of all questions as to how the various phases of Christian work can be carried on most efficiently, e.g. trans-

lation and literary work, social work, medical work, evangelistic work, &c.

(*e*) And in general to endeavour to secure harmonious, co-operant, and more effective work throughout the whole empire.

After the Conference was over, Fox visited the several missions at Suchow, Ningpo, Chifu, Tientsin, Peking, Wuchang, Hankow, Fuchow, and Hongkong, and presided over a conference held at the China Inland Mission's head-quarters at Shanghai, convened for the purpose of considering the proposal to establish a college or university at Cheng-tu, the principal city of the Szechwan province in Western China on the borders of Tibet. He was also present at a meeting called by the Christian Literature Society of China, presided over by the Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin, of Peking, the senior missionary in China and the first President of the Peking University. The occasion was made notable by an address delivered by Dr. Timothy Richard on the extensive work of the Society. Fox was singularly interested in the Cheng-tu project for the Friends' Mission in that far city, which was doing notable work. A very important conference was held at Cheng-tu in the February after Fox had returned to Europe, under the presidency of Dr. A. H. Smith, who had also presided at the Shanghai Conference. The object of the Western Conference was to aim at one Protestant Church for Western China. The meeting was addressed by missionaries of many denominations, and their opinion was unanimous on the necessity for union. The Friends' Mission played an important part in the Conference, which Dr. Smith

declared was of even greater significance than that held at Shanghai. The Conference lasted from 25th January to 2nd February 1908, and was attended by over 160 missionaries, mostly from Western China. Never had so many foreigners gathered together in the city of Cheng-tu, and, says a letter by Mr. H. T. Hodgkin from the Friends' Mission in Cheng-tu, 'the people had to be prepared for the sight of such large crowds by official announcements in the paper saying that we were meeting for peaceable purposes. Those who were met together were from at least ten denominations, and probably a good many more. They had utterly different views upon a large majority of subjects. They were men and women whose opinions might be said to be pretty well formed, and not students, as in most of the conferences with which I have had much to do in the past. Yet we have met together and discussed the most difficult questions of mission policy on broad lines, dealing chiefly with the main guiding principles of our work, and in nearly every matter we reached practically unanimous decisions, and throughout the proceedings there was the utmost harmony.' The Conference had official recognition, despite the fact that 'Missionaries are far from popular here at the present time', and the Viceroy, who was represented at the Conference, received a delegation from it and himself attended and spoke at the Conference 'speaking plainly, and yet in a very friendly way, of some of the dangers of missionary work at the present time'. The representative of the Viceroy was in close touch with the whole movement, and was himself a municipal social reformer. All this would

have delighted and indeed did delight F. W. Fox, who, no doubt, felt that he had been, if not one of the sowers, yet one of the husbandmen who harrowed the land to secure orderly growth.

Fox's interest in no way died down as years passed. After his return, he continued his work on the China Emergency Appeal Committee and the appeal to the British nation on behalf of medical training and other educational work in China (to which reference has already been made) was issued. The Appeal Committee was influential and representative, and included the Lord Mayor of London, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Durham, Principal Fairbairn, Dr. Scott Lidgett, Dr. Alexander McLaren, Lord Alverstone, the Vice-Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and various influential Members of Parliament. F. W. Fox was one of the honorary secretaries. The appeal dwelt on the awakening of China and on her inquiry as to the possibilities of 'Western knowledge, Western education, and Western ideals'. The approach of a renaissance in China was prophesied since the immemorial examination system for the Civil Service in China had been abolished and a definite blow struck at the antique learning, while 'the educational system had been transformed; graded schools and colleges, lower and higher primary, lower and higher secondary schools, and technical colleges are being established. Temples are turned into schools—temple lands appropriated for educational expenses, and teachers needed in all directions.' The Appeal Committee declared that the opportunity for wise and kindly aid was unexampled in the history of the world

and called for special thought and for judicious and well-considered action. The scheme put forward embraced the development of medical, normal, and theological education, and the translation into Chinese of the best Western literature. The most urgent need was for medical colleges where thorough and scientific training could be given to Chinese students preparing for medical practice among the people. But it was pointed out that the revolution in China had been chiefly in the realm of education, and the most efficient help was to be provided by the equipment of a central university. A special committee consisting of leading members of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had been formed to deal with this question. The Appeal Committee, therefore, confined its attention to the question of the primary and secondary schools which were being established everywhere for the children of the people throughout the vast Empire of China and needed Chinese teachers trained in the new learning and the new methods. For the purpose, it was necessary to form at once normal training colleges for teachers at mission stations in different parts of China in which young Christian men and women could be trained to teach in these schools and show by their lives and zeal the influence of Christianity. A scheme had been drafted and had been approved at the Shanghai Conference by which missionary societies would be invited to establish theological colleges for pastors by the side of each central training institution for teachers. Students in these colleges could receive common training in secular subjects at each central institution. There would be

no common theological training, but arrangements would be made for a system of inter-collegiate lectures by which a student at any one college could attend lectures at any other with the consent of the Principals. The control and management of the central institution, including property, would be vested in the hands of a local board representing the societies concerned. The staff of the theological colleges would form the tutorial staff of the institution. While the staffs would be paid by the missionary societies, the initial cost of the institutions had to be found, and this with grants in aid of site and plant for the theological colleges was estimated to cost £40,000. This sum with £40,000 for the proposed medical colleges, and £20,000 to assist the literature societies already at work in China, and to further the selection, translation, and distribution of the best Western literature amongst students availing themselves of the medical, normal, and theological colleges and the Central University, made up the sum of £100,000 for which the appeal was made. It was urged that Britain had stood in closer relations to China than any other Western nation and had a special responsibility, and it was proposed that the national fund should be administered by a board with representative boards in China. The reply to the appeal was disappointing, only £20,000 being raised, and the great projects, the necessity of which were foreseen by the committee, delayed. It is probable, however, that the unrest of the whole world, including China, since the appeal was made in 1909, would have prevented any full application of the scheme, and the quiet work that in these dark years has never been intermitted

has laid, perhaps, deeper foundations on which the scheme in coming years can be built up without fear of collapse. The persistence of educational effort in China is shown by the proceedings in June 1922 of the Annual Conference of the Missionary Societies of Great Britain and Ireland which chiefly dealt with China and very largely with the questions of education in China. Professor Roxby of Liverpool laid before the conference the conclusions of an educational commission on which Chinese, British, and American specialists were represented. This commission had surveyed the whole educational system in China, both governmental and missionary, and as a result declared that the missionary societies could render to China a service which no other institution could render. Education was one of the chief factors of the reconstruction of China and it must be the students who would supply leadership. With the introduction of Western industrialism, there had arisen a Chinese proletariat of a new kind, and China was threatened by the worst features of the industrialism of England a century ago. The commission declared that if nothing was done to check such evils, the result would be felt not only in China but throughout the world. The Chinese Government system of education touched only an infinitesimal part of the field, and the Government welcomed the contribution of the missionary societies, since they were free to make educational experiments and laid an emphasis on character which the ethically minded Chinese sincerely approved. The commission pointed out that no single society could efficiently carry on any educational centre of university

rank; that there must be, as indeed there already in a measure was, co-operation such as could be found in the West China University of Cheng-tu supported by two British, two American, and one Canadian society. The commission therefore recommended that instead of the present sixteen colleges aspiring to university rank, there should be five or six that were really efficient regional centres. At the present moment there was a new opportunity for the Christian schools of China to come to the help of the Chinese nation in a critical hour; but to do this they must be 'more efficient, more Christian, and more Chinese'. This view is one that F. W. Fox would fully have endorsed and indeed it is the view that naturally sprang out of the efforts of the group to which he belonged.

It will be not out of place here to refer to a correspondence between Fox and the Right Rev. William W. Cassels, Bishop in Western China. The value of the letters does not consist in the complete misunderstanding of the Bishop's point of view by Fox, but rather in his statement, as a private individual, of the point of view of the Friends, exhibiting as it does his own deep religious convictions. Fox's letter is dated 13th March 1911, and runs as follows:

DEAR BISHOP CASSELS,

Your letter of the 11th January 1911, addressed to the Rev. Edward T. Reed, the Secretary of the China Emergency Appeal Committee, was duly read to the Executive Committee at its last meeting.

In the letter you kindly gave reasons why the representatives of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in West China had so far not seen their way

to actively co-operate with the Evangelical Missionary Societies associated together in the Christian Educational Union of West China, in connexion with the proposed training colleges which have been, or are likely to be, established at Cheng-tu.

These training colleges are to be in close connexion with the new Christian University established at Cheng-tu, which is at present under the general control of the aforesaid Christian Educational Union.

After referring in your letter to one or two of the difficulties in the way of your Mission doing so, you then go on to say, 'Then again there is another difficulty. Until we can form a church in Cheng-tu, any students that we could send to the Training College would have to attend the services, say, of the good Quaker brethren there. Of course, we highly esteem these brethren as Christian men, and should be grateful for their kind ministrations. But it can hardly be supposed that we should be satisfied for those who are being trained as teachers for our schools to be brought up in the atmosphere of disregard of the sacraments which our Lord instituted and rejection of such things as the resurrection of the body.'

Now I feel that it is my duty to make a protest against these statements, but I only do so as a private individual and as a member of the Society of Friends, and not in my official position as Chairman or Member of the China Emergency Committee or in any way as representing that Committee, as I feel that I cannot allow the above reference to the Society of Friends to pass without a word of explanation, both because of the pain that it has given me as a member of that society and because of the false impression your words are calculated to convey to others who are not fully acquainted with the religious views held by the members of that society.

What has led you to the conclusions which you have drawn, I am, of course, quite unable to say.

There are, no doubt, individual Friends who hold views out of harmony with those of their Christian brethren in what we should regard as fundamental questions, in the same way as among other sections of the Christian Church such individuals are found. At the same time, I am sure you would not wish me to deduce the views of the Church of England from the expressions used, say by a churchman like the editor of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, and I cannot suppose that you would act in this manner in regard to the Society of Friends.

You have referred to 'the atmosphere of disregard of the sacraments which our Lord instituted and rejection of such things as the resurrection of the body'.

There are three points in regard to this statement which I wish to take up.

(1) 'Disregard of the sacraments' can in no sense be said to describe the Quaker position. Friends believe most profoundly in Baptism and in Communion.

They believe that spiritual baptism is essential in the life of the believer, and that the body and blood of our Lord are to be truly partaken of by all His followers.

They do not consider these spiritual experiences to be dependent upon the outward form, they do not consider there is any sufficient Scriptural warrant for the continuance in the Christian dispensation of what were, in the time of our Lord's life upon earth, Jewish ordinances and ceremonies, any more than the Church of England considers the outward ordinance or ceremony of the washing of one another's feet binding now upon the Christian Church.

They believe that Quaker history and experience abundantly demonstrates the truth that the baptism of the Spirit is given to those who have not passed through any ceremony of sprinkling or immersion, and

the true communion with our Lord is the blessed experience of many who do not see their way to partake of outward elements, and who do not believe that our Lord and Master meant to institute outward rites which should be binding upon all His followers and a *sine qua non* in the religious life.

I am aware that you cannot accept this interpretation of our Lord's words, but I must protest against your describing such an attitude as a 'disregard of the sacraments'.

(2) I must also enter a protest against the vague words, 'such matters as', which seem to purposely suggest wide areas in which Friends are open to the charge of 'unorthodoxy'.

The Society of Friends stands with the other Evangelical churches in upholding the fundamental truths of Christianity as would be abundantly demonstrated to you if you read over the *Book of Discipline*, the nearest thing we have to an official statement of our religious position.

If you wish to bring such a general charge against the Society, I must ask you to put the matter specifically before me, and I have no doubt that I shall be able to justify my protest against the use of these words.

(3) In the one instance, however, which you take, you do, unconsciously I am sure, grave injustice to the Society of Friends.

Perhaps the simplest way of answering this point is by the following quotation from the book already referred to:

> 'We sincerely believe not only in a resurrection in Christ, from the fallen sinful state here, but a rising and ascending into glory with Him hereafter. . . .
>
> 'We shall be raised out of all corruption and corruptibility, out of all mortality, and the children of God and of the resurrection shall be equal to the angels of God in Heaven.

'As the celestial bodies do far excel terrestrial, so we expect our spiritual bodies in the resurrection shall far excel what our bodies now are.

'Howbeit we esteem it very unnecessary to dispute or question how the dead are raised, or with what body they come; but rather submit that to the wisdom and pleasure of Almighty God.'

I do not think I need add more than to say that this view would certainly be endorsed by our Society to-day.

I may add that I know several of our Missionaries in China, and I have no hesitation in saying that they also would be deeply pained if your reference to Friends' views came to their ears, and I am sure they would agree with me in what I have now written.

I am profoundly impressed with the extreme importance to the well-being of the future Chinese Christian Church that the representatives in China of the various Western Evangelical Churches should present as far as possible to the Confucian and Pagan Chinese world the manifestation of complete unity in the fundamental principles and truths of Christianity as taught and exemplified in the New Testament, that our Missionaries should bring to the Chinese, not a Western Christianity encrusted with the traditions and accretions of Western theological doctrines, but rather the true spiritual Christianity as taught by our Lord Jesus Christ and His apostles.

The great Centenary Missionary Conference at Shanghai in 1907 emphasized the importance of manifesting this spirit of unity, and, if I remember rightly, unanimously adopted a resolution to the effect that this Christian unity in the fundamental truths should be based upon the wording of the creed known as the Apostles' Creed.

At the Shanghai Conference, whilst it was earnestly hoped that the representatives of the various Evangelical churches would strenuously strive to present to the

Chinese people a practical manifestation of that blessed unity so solemnly prayed for by our Lord in the 17th of John, it was also recognized that in the secondary or less fundamental points of doctrine the missions of the various churches should not abandon those special views which were so precious and dear to them.

When I had the pleasure and privilege of meeting you at the Shanghai Conference in 1907 and at the meeting of the China Emergency Committee at the Deanery, Westminster, and on other occasions, received the impression that you and your devoted co-workers in China were also as anxious as any of the other members of the Conference for this manifestation to the Chinese of the unity in the fundamentals of Christian truth.

In the constitution of the Cheng-tu Christian University there is a provision that no theological instruction shall be given in the University, but each society or church would have its own college or hostel at which its own special theological doctrines should be taught to its students.

I am very glad to hear of the successful progress of the important and beneficent work which you and your self-denying and devoted colleagues have and are carrying out in your vast diocese in the Province of Szechwan and earnestly hope that your labours will continue to be abundantly blessed.

With kindest regards and cordial Christian good wishes,

I am,
Yours sincerely,

F. W. Fox.

The Right Rev.
Bishop W. W. Cassels, D.D.

P. S.—As it is difficult within the limited compass of a brief letter to adequately explain the Scriptural views of the Society of Friends with respect to the Christian ordinances commonly known as 'The

Sacraments', I may incidentally remark that this word 'Sacrament' or its equivalent is not mentioned or known in the New Testament. I therefore propose to send you under another cover a book by J. S. Rowntree on the faith and practice of the Society of Friends, and another little book on *The Lord's Supper*, by Isaac Brown, which perhaps may prove useful for this purpose.

Bishop Cassels in his reply, dated 9th June 1911, from Paoning Wanhsien, Western China, not only makes clear the misunderstanding, but pays a valued tribute to the spiritual outlook of the Friends.

F. W. Fox's efforts on behalf of religion and education in China were characteristic of the man and of the success in failure which so often attended his efforts. Immediate success of the 1907–9 movement might have spelt ultimate failure, but the seed that was scattered, in definitely defined fields, at that date by the great body of workers among whom Fox felt himself to be a humble unit, is likely, now that normal conditions are coming again to the world, to bear a rich and enduring harvest. The Chinese problem is perhaps more accurately defined, and it is seen, as was not seen fifteen years ago, that the Chinese industrial and economic questions are so bound up with the religious in the educational questions that they must be solved together, and solved by Chinese methods. This was always Fox's view in all social and political problems and the case of China is only one more instance of his wide outlook. There can be no doubt that the Far East is likely to offer problems of the first rank in economics and high politics in the next

half-century, and this fact Mr. Fox seemed fully to realize when he pleaded that the processes of Christianization and education should go hand in hand in the great regions of China. The peace of the world may turn on the success of these efforts.

CHAPTER VI

ENGLAND AND GERMANY

F. W. Fox from the close of the Boer War, inspired no doubt by his efforts in the concluding phases of that war, set to work to play a part in a far larger issue on a far wider stage, the world-wide reduction of armaments. It was in search of this issue that he came to take a not unimportant part in the relations of England and Germany in the decade preceding the Great War of 1914. In the winter of 1902–3 he visited Rome in order to ascertain whether it would be possible for the King of Italy or his Government to take steps to secure an international agreement as to the reduction of naval expenditure. It will be remembered that some fifteen years earlier he had visited Rome in the hope of doing something to end the war between Italy and Abyssinia and that the mission really opened his career as an amateur ambassador. On the present occasion he was able to secure interviews with the King of Italy, Victor Immanuel III; Signor Giolitti; Signor Zanardelli, the veteran statesman then engaged in carrying Italy through difficult social problems and in establishing a constitutional State; Baron Sonnino, the able statesman and social reformer who was to succeed Signor Giolitti in 1906; Signor Nathan and others. Italy was certainly not in a position at the

time to intervene in European affairs. Her own economic difficulties were great and her relations with Russia were resented by the mass of the people who feared that Russian methods of government might be reintroduced into the Italy of the *risorgimento*. Yet Fox's ideas did not fall on barren ground and he felt that the project of international peace could be forwarded even better in what might prove to be storm centres than in Rome.

On 28th March 1903 he wrote the following letter to Count zu Solms-Baruth with the object of bringing his views before the Emperor:

Reform Club,
Pall Mall,
London, S.W.
28th March 1903.

To His Excellency,
Friedrich Graf zu Solms-Baruth,
Oberst-Kämmerer Seiner Majestät des
Kaisers und Königs,
Berlin.

DEAR SIR,

The apology which I have to offer in taking the liberty of sending to your Excellency this letter, is, that I am greatly interested in the question as to whether it may be possible for the European Powers most concerned, to come to some understanding to limit or reduce, say during the next ten years, the projected increases in their several respective naval programmes.

In common with, I imagine, the vast majority of thoughtful men throughout Europe, I view the present almost insane naval rivalry or competition between Great Britain, Germany, Russia, and France with great regret and alarm, involving as it does the wasteful expenditure of vast sums of money on weapons of

war which will become absolutely useless in a few years owing to new inventions and improvements.

As each nation increases its naval armaments in proportion to the others, it is obvious that at the end of say ten years after a vast expenditure of money the relative strengths of the several nations are precisely what they were during the previous ten years.

But the serious absorption of capital and industry in an unproductive form of investment, and the diversion of this vast amount of economic force from productive and wealth producing enterprises, will develop most serious distress and poverty throughout Europe which cannot fail to compel its peoples to migrate to those parts of the world less oppressed with taxation, and where industrial enterprises can be carried on under more favourable conditions.

Lord Goschen (when First Lord of the Admiralty) made an offer on behalf of the British Government, in the House of Commons, that his Government would reduce their navy expenditure, provided proportionate reductions were agreed to by the other Powers.

I have good reason for stating that if Germany would agree to some understanding in the direction indicated, that the naval expenditure of Europe and America would at once be also greatly lessened.

I had a most satisfactory interview with the Italian Prime Minister when at Rome a month or two since, who was most sympathetic, and intimated that his Government would be willing to take the initiative in opening up communications with the other Powers, provided he was assured that such a course of action would be cordially welcomed by the other Powers.

I also had the honour of an interview on the same subject with His Majesty the King of Italy.

It has been suggested that I should proceed to St. Petersburg, and if possible endeavour to secure an interview with His Imperial Majesty the Czar.

If His Imperial Majesty the German Emperor is

likely to be willing to give this important matter a favourable consideration, I would gladly pay a visit at Berlin on my way to St. Petersburg.

I am,
Yours obediently,
FRANCIS WM. FOX.

P.S.—I enclose herewith a small pamphlet giving some incidents about the Hague Conference from which His Imperial Majesty will see that I have taken, for some years past, an active part in international arbitration and peace questions.

He subsequently visited Berlin with the object of familiarizing the German people with the ideas that the Hague Conference of 1899 had formulated, and he secured helpful interviews with various members of the Reichstag. The moment was one of international significance. France in 1903 had determined on the policy of control in Morocco, had already obtained the approval of Russia and Italy, and was about to secure that of England. Germany was inclined to refuse her approval and the difficult days were approaching when Germany was to address something like an ultimatum to France on the subject of her North African policy. France was not cowed by the German attitude and relying on the support of England entered into the Algeçiras Conference of September 1905 with a confidence that events justified. Early in 1909 the French position in Morocco was fully recognized by Germany and a position of equilibrium seemed assured. But the years 1904 to 1909 were years of intense agitation and Fox, in his efforts to snatch peace out of the very jaws of war, was playing a congenial part. His efforts

in Rome, in Berlin, and at the Hague showed a sound outlook on a dangerous situation. The trouble between Germany and the rest of Europe was taking shape. England and France had completed their *entente cordiale* in 1904 and events in Germany showed that a new policy in that country, the policy of creating a great and continuously greater navy initiated by the Navy Act (Flottengesetz) of 1898, and the Supplementary Act of 1900, had to be watched. Germany had definitely adopted a world-policy. Professor Hermann Oncken, writing in the *Cambridge Modern History* in 1910 (vol. xii, p. 171), declared that the German people 'now began to drink in the free invigorating breeze of that colonial and naval activity which has made the English so great and powerful a people . . . it soon became necessary to assert the independence of Germany's policy as against the wishes of England, chiefly in order to avoid strong pressure from the Russo-French Alliance'. This Heidelberg professor further declared that the German Emperor's friendliness to the Boers betrayed 'a further cooling off towards England, and its final explanation may be sought in considerations of world-policy alone'. It was this 'world-policy' of Germany, so frankly declared by this German historian writing for an English public in 1910, that Fox had to face. Was it possible, in view of such a challenge, for one unofficial individual to do anything? Could the great tragedy be averted? It was not in fact averted, but the effort to avert it was in no sense fruitless since it showed the world, at an early date, some ten years before the Great War, that the best opinion in England was willing, and indeed anxious, to take any reasonable

steps to procure that atmosphere of friendship which alone could secure the possibility of the reduction of armaments. In a very real sense the Washington Conference of 1921 was a fruit of the policy which F. W. Fox had preached for more than thirty years.

The position was sufficiently serious in 1905 to call for all possible efforts to check the growing and unreasonable bitterness of Germany towards England. The Press of both countries accentuated the very real difficulties created by the new German world-policy and the growing threat of the new German Navy. An International Peace Conference was held at Lucerne in September 1905 which Fox attended, and there 'the serious state of unfriendliness existing in Germany against England' (to use Fox's words) induced him and others there and then to organize two Anglo-German Friendship Committees, one in England and the other in Germany. On the return of the English delegates to London, a great public meeting at the Caxton Hall was convened on 1st December 1905 under the presidency of Lord Avebury. The present Bishop of Winchester, Lord Courtney, Lord Stanmore, Lord Lyveden, Sir John H. Kennaway, Sir Hubert Maxwell, Sir Michael Foster, and others addressed the meeting, the proceedings of which were widely reported on the Continent. The meeting expressed sympathy and friendship with the German nation and strong disapproval of evil attempts to create discord and distrust. Lord Avebury telegraphed the result to the German Emperor, who sent, through Prince Bülow, a message of 'sincere thanks to you and to all who

share your feelings of friendship and goodwill', while the German Ambassador in London, Count Metternich, in a speech on the following day referred to the meeting in enthusiastic terms. In Germany the meeting had, or seemed to have, an excellent effect. Fox went at once to Berlin to estimate that effect. He went indeed in an official position, for he was acting as the Honorary Secretary of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee, of which the Duke of Argyll had become the Honorary President with Lord Avebury as President. Fox was present at a great banquet given on 6th January 1906 by the Berlin Chamber of Commerce which was attended by Sir F. C. Lascelles, the British Ambassador to Germany (a Vice-President of the Friendship Committee). He pointed out that the new movement was not in any way intended to interfere with the *entente cordiale* between England and France, and urged that the maintenance of improved friendly relations between England and Germany would prepare the way for better and more friendly relations between Germany and France. Count Ballestrem in reply declared that not one member of the Reichstag wished for hostilities between Germany and England, but were all animated with a desire for the maintenance of the most friendly and cordial relations between the two great countries. On 21st December the Prime Minister, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, welcomed at the Albert Hall these 'unofficial demonstrations of friendship', and pleaded for a reduction of armaments and the principle of peaceful arbitration.

Fox was actively at work in Berlin, and the following letter dated 17th January 1906 from the Imperial

Chancellor, Prince von Bülow, shows not only that he was indeed acting as an ambassador of peace but that his labours were not in vain.

DEAR MR. FOX,

I regret sincerely that my health has not permitted me to see you and personally to confer with you about the work of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee.

That the object of this Association has my full sympathy you are already aware, and I make with pleasure use of the opportunity afforded by your kind visit to Berlin to repeat that the German Government welcomes with heartiest satisfaction, and will help forward, all efforts tending to promote better feelings between our countries.

In doing this it only confirms the conviction which I have already on several occasions (stated), and not only recently; and I may remind you of my speech in the Reichstag, 5th December 1904, which I then stated was the line of the Imperial Policy.

I then said in that speech:—

> 'I hope the destinies of the two countries will always be decided by the cool heads who know that Germany and England, not only in the immediate present, but for all future time, so far as human eyes can see, will be best served by maintaining the present peaceful relations.'

Since then my opinion has not changed, and the formation of your Association has tended to confirm it.

Hoping that the Anglo-German Friendship Committee will continue to prosper.

I am, yours very truly,

BÜLOW.

On 23rd January 1906 Professor Theodore Schiemann, of the *Kreuz Zeitung*, the Conservative newspaper, wrote to Mr. Fox as follows:

Berlin,
23rd January 1906.

I hope, and I believe I may safely add, that everybody in Germany desires that the movement which has commenced and has been considerably furthered through your committee's activity, both in volume and intensity, may scare away the spectres which have been artificially raised between us.

An amicable standing together of Germany and Great Britain would mean a turning-point in the history of both nations, and assist both to a period of new development.

It is true I cannot speak in the name of a Party; I am altogether outside all political parties, and represent German interests as I understand them. Although my political views appear in the Conservative *Kreuz Zeitung*, they never touch questions of internal politics. In foreign politics there exists with us no dogmas of Parties; here all stand together, and I may safely say that the policy of the Emperor and the State-Chancellor is also the policy of the German people.

The peaceful tendency of that policy has been proved by facts. Our peace has, since 1888, only been disturbed by the Chinese Expedition and the affair with Venezuela, but both these times we went together hand-in-hand with England.

You ask about our position *vis-à-vis* France. There also my reply is that we want nothing from France but quietness. However, we are far from thinking of a French alliance. This is rendered impossible for us through the Frenchman's call for *revanche*, which crops up again every year, and the revelations of M. Delcassé, after his retirement, have still further retarded the idea of this alliance. No doubt a genuine

combination of the three great peoples of civilization and culture—England, France, and Germany—would be a blessing to the world; this is felt by every German also. But the realization of this idea remains, as I believe personally, neither in the hands of Germany, nor in those of England, but rests with France.

With kindest regards, I remain, my dear Sir,
Yours faithfully,
PROFESSOR SCHIEMANN.

Fox in this visit prepared the way for a visit to England of a party of German journalists, which took place with apparently very successful results in the early summer of 1906, and a courteous letter of thanks, dated 29th June 1906, to the committee by the visitors deserves mention here as it marks the views held by a large body of the men who had the making of German opinion. The warm terms in which the letter was couched must at that time have been something more than mere politeness. A return visit of English journalists in 1907 was not less successful. At that time Fox was in China working out another and perhaps not less profitable enterprise. The exchange visits of journalists, followed by similar visits to England and Germany respectively in 1908 and 1909 of clergy of various denominations, strengthened the growth of friendly feelings between the two countries, and the speech of the German Emperor in November 1907 at Carlton House Terrace to a deputation from the English committee emphasized the improved relations that had sprung from the efforts of the English and German committees. But all the while there were set-backs that could not be disregarded. A famous

report in the *Daily Telegraph* during the autumn of 1908 of an interview with the German Emperor created a considerable stir and led to the dispatch of a letter to the Emperor signed by the Duke of Argyll, Lord Avebury, Lord Lonsdale, Lord Brassey, and Mr. Fox intended to counteract the unrest. The text of the letter and the somewhat cold reply from Prince Metternich, the German Ambassador in London, again illustrate the English effort for friendly relations. The correspondence ran as follows :

SIRE,

A year having now elapsed since your Majesty visited England and delivered a memorable speech at the Guildhall, London, we, the members of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee of Great Britain, desire very respectfully to offer to your Majesty our grateful thanks for the repeated gracious expression of your Majesty's goodwill towards our country and our people.

We are confident that the great majority of our fellow-countrymen are animated by the most friendly feelings towards your Majesty and towards Germany.

We have had much pleasure during the last two years in welcoming visits from German Burgomasters, Editors, Pastors, Members of Parliament, and working men, and we trust that with your Majesty's support and sympathy thus expressed, the two nations may long maintain feelings of friendship which are so important for both countries.

We earnestly hope, therefore, that having regard to the friendship which has existed from time immemorial between Great Britain and Germany, and the immense interests we have in common, that this mutual friendship may not only be maintained but may be strengthened as the years roll on, and that it may be the glorious aim and purpose of the rulers and peoples

of our two Empires to maintain International Peace, which is so necessary for the progress, as well as the highest moral and material prosperity, of all the nations of the world.

Assuring your Majesty of our heartiest respect, and wishing every blessing and prosperity may rest upon your highly-favoured Fatherland.

We are, with great respect, your Majesty, obediently,

On behalf of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee.

ARGYLL, Hon. President.
AVEBURY, President.
LONSDALE, Vice-President.
BRASSEY.
FRANCIS WM. FOX, Hon. Secretary.

The following acknowledgment of the above letter was received from the German Ambassador:

German Embassy,
27th November, 1908.

DEAR LORD AVEBURY,

The letter which was addressed to His Majesty the Emperor by the Anglo-German Friendship Committee having been laid before His Majesty, I am commanded, and I have the honour, to convey to the Committee the expression of the Emperor's gratitude for this friendly attention.

I should feel much obliged if you would be good enough to bring this to the notice of the members of the Committee.

Believe me,
Yours sincerely,
P. METTERNICH.

The newspapers of the two countries, despite all efforts, were indeed at the time leading a considerable drift from the regions of peaceful co-operation. The

English public, in fact, was growing alarmed at the continuous growth of German armaments, and especially naval armaments, while the attitude of Germany to France was not notable for its peaceful character.

The following Memorandum dated 17th May 1909, prepared by Mr. Fox, explains his position at this time:

A MEMORANDUM in connexion with the wave of Militarism and the Naval scare which is passing over this and other countries, together with a suggestion as to what practical measures can be taken to counteract it, and to bring about a good understanding between GREAT BRITAIN, GERMANY, and FRANCE.

There is at present a profound yearning on the part of the Friends of Peace throughout Great Britain, Germany, and France for liberation from the bondage of militarism and the stupendous growth of armaments which is so oppressing modern civilization, which menaces to arrest all social reform in the European countries and in which growth of armaments all nations are competing with one another in a frantic and ruinous rivalry.

The aspirations of the Peace Party in England and throughout the world seem, undoubtedly, to point to the urgent necessity of a great International forward movement, which shall in the first place be quite independent and apart from Governmental influence and action, but shall be in the direction of consolidating and developing the widespread and influential public opinion already in favour of International Peace and Friendship in the three nations of Germany, France, and Great Britain.

For already there are several agencies leading to and pressing for such a great International movement.

There is the Inter-parliamentary Union of which in

Great Britain Lord Weardale is the President. Then there are the Social Democratic and Labour organizations in each of these countries earnestly pressing for the diminution of armaments and the cultivation of more friendly relationship of the peoples of Europe, and, lastly, there are the representatives of the Christian Churches who have yet to be organized into an International Alliance or League for raising the voice of the Churches in favour of closer bonds of friendship between these three nations.

JOHN BRIGHT once uttered the following words:

'If we may presume to ask ourselves what, in the eye of the Supreme Ruler, is the greatest crime which His creatures commit, I think we may almost with certainty conclude that it is the crime of war. It has been described as the sum of all villainies; and it has been the cause of sufferings, misery, and slaughter, which neither tongue nor pen can ever describe. And all this has been going on for eighteen hundred years after men have adopted the religion whose Founder, and whose Head, is denominated the Prince of Peace.

'Why is it that there has never been a combination of all religions and Christian teachers of all countries with a view of teaching the people what is true, what is Christian, upon the subject?

'I believe it lies within the power of the Churches to do far more than statesmen can do in matters of this kind. I believe they might so bring the question home to the hearts and consciences of the Christian and good men and women of their congregations, that a great combination of public opinion might be created, which would wholly change the aspect of this question in this country, and before the world, and would bring to the minds of statesmen that they are not the rulers of the people of Greece, or of the marauding hordes of ancient Rome, but

that they are, or ought to be, the Christian rulers of a Christian people.'

In reference to the growing danger to the peace of the world that the present insane rivalry in huge armaments involves, the late Prime Minister SIR H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN in an important speech on the 22nd December 1905 said:

'I hold that the growth of armaments is a great danger to the peace of the world. The policy of huge armaments feeds the belief that force is the best—if not the only—solution of international differences. It is a policy which tends to inflame old sores and to create new sores, and I submit to you that as the principle of peaceful arbitration gains ground it becomes one of the highest tasks of statesmen to adjust armaments to the new and happier conditions. What nobler rôle could this country have than at the fitting moment to place itself at the head of a League of Peace, through whose instrumentality this great work could be effected.'

SIR EDWARD GREY in the House of Commons on the 29th March 1909 spoke as follows:

'An increase of naval expenditure on both sides (referring to Britain and Germany) is undoubtedly viewed by public opinion with apprehension. A decrease of naval expenditure, on the other hand, would immediately produce a feeling of increased security and peace. Were there a cessation in naval expenditure, public opinion everywhere would take it as a guarantee of the good intentions of the two nations to trust each other and the effect would be incalculable.'

The late MARQUESS OF SALISBURY in one of his last speeches at the Mansion House said:

'Remember this—that the federation of Europe

is the embryo of the only possible structure of Europe which can save civilization from the desolating effects of a disaster of war.

'You notice that on all sides the instruments of destruction, the piling up of arms, are becoming larger and larger.

'The powers of concentration are becoming greater, and instruments of death more active and more numerous and are improved every year; and each nation is bound for its own safety's sake to take part in this competition. The one hope that we have to prevent this competition from ending in a terrible effort of mutual destruction which would be fatal to Christian civilization—the only hope we have is, that the Powers may gradually be brought together to act together in a friendly spirit on all questions of difference which may arise, and till at last they shall be welded in some international constitution which shall give to the world, as a result of their great strength, a long spell of unfettered and prosperous trade and continued peace.'

LORD AVEBURY in the House of Lords on the 25th May 1906 made the following remarks:

'Europe is a great military camp, always under arms; we have no peace, only an armistice; eternal war with unlimited expenditure, only, happily, without bloodshed. But the result is that instead of accumulating capital for our children, we are piling up debt; instead of bequeathing them an income, we are leaving them overwhelming responsibilities. . . .

'Surely we might agree in reductions which would leave our relative strength unaffected and save all three countries many millions of money, besides an immense annual diminution of expense. This seems rather a matter for amicable arrangement between the three countries than for the Hague Conference.'

As we have already remarked in the first paragraph, the time seems now ripe for a great International forward movement in the direction of a series of friendly co-operative or federal arrangements between the three nations of Great Britain, Germany, and France.

It seems to me that one of the most practical measures which the members of the International Peace movement can in the first place take is the following:

1st. To at once organize in Great Britain, Germany, and France, Committees of influential and representative persons with the object of ascertaining how and in what ways a closer *entente cordiale* and solidarity of interests between the peoples of the three nations can be best promoted and developed.

These several Committees should comprise numerous representatives from every district, town, and city of each nation, and should each be represented by a large Executive Committee in London, Berlin, and Paris.

The representatives of each of these Executive Committees should frequently hold inter-communication Conferences alternately at Berlin, Paris, and London, to consider and discuss the various International questions and problems which may from time to time give occasion for friction, misunderstanding, and suspicion.

At these Conferences steps should be taken to devise measures and means by which the question under consideration may be readjusted and settled on lines of equity and justice so as to give satisfaction to the peoples and governments of these three nations.

After a time, when the confidential and friendly relations had become firmly established, the reduc-

tion of military and naval armaments would naturally follow.

Simultaneously with the creation of the International Committee of Friendship, the Peace Party should also adopt measures to educate public opinion by means of frequent communication to the Press in the three countries as well as in the effective circulation of convincing Peace literature.

FRANCIS WM. FOX.

Reform Club,
London.
17th May, 1909.

However, in the Spring of 1909, Germany acquiesced in the French position in North Africa, and in the Summer the following correspondence took place between the two Committees :

ANGLO-GERMAN FRIENDSHIP COMMITTEE.

Address from the English Committee.

We desire to express to you in the name of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee our great regret at the attempts which are being industriously and persistently made to create mistrust, jealousy, and dissension between our two countries. In view of the distrust and recrimination which are still, unfortunately, fostered in the Press and elsewhere, it behoves all who love peace to draw together and labour for its maintenance with more earnestness than ever. We invite you, therefore, to join in that work with us, who sincerely wish your country well, and who rejoice in its prosperity, as in that of every member of the community of civilized nations.

We are convinced that our Government truthfully express the desire of the great mass of our countrymen

in the assurances which they have given that Great Britain wishes to maintain not only peace, but the most friendly relations, with Germany.

A war between the two countries would be disastrous to both. It would be a step backwards towards barbarism, a calamity rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of the two nations. The main interests of the two countries are in reality identical.

Our Committee deeply regret the enormous growth which has taken place and is still going on in the naval expenditure of both countries, and which necessitates so serious an increase in taxation with the prospect of indefinite additions, and in that view we hope an understanding may be come to as to the limitation of naval armaments.

We do not seek here to inquire who are chiefly to blame for these portentous armaments. Enough that they exist, and are growing in England and Germany, to the reproach of our common civilization; with the waste of so much wealth, so much ability and so much thought, and (it may be) with the risk of precipitating hostilities. Never was such energy devoted to accumulating and perfecting materials and weapons of war, and never were there fewer occasions for any quarrel. Why should there be an estrangement between our countries? Your heritage of culture is ours also. Your chief heroes and teachers are ours. All your highest aims and aspirations are shared by us. There may be rivalry, full and unfettered, in generous and pacific pursuits. Two nations had never less cause for strife and never more for unity of spirit.

The only result of the ruinous expenditure in warlike preparations must be to add to the burden of taxation, and give to other Powers the temptation to work for our estrangement, we who are by nature the best friends in Europe.

We have put, and shall continue to put, before our countrymen, as we doubt not you will before yours,

the supreme duty at this hour of resisting that spirit of fatalism which assumes that two nations of the highest intelligence, and masters of their future, must sooner or later become foes, and of combating the present propaganda of war with a no less earnest propaganda of peace.

We shall welcome suggestions from you as to common action, and you may be assured of our co-operation and sympathy in all that you may do in the noble work which we both have at heart.

On behalf of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee of Great Britain,

ARGYLL, Hon. Secretary
AVEBURY, President
LONSDALE
EDW. SOUTHWARK
BRASSEY
KINNAIRD
STANMORE
JOHN KENNAWAY
HERBERT E. MAXWELL
T. P. NEWMAN, Chairman
FRANCIS WM. FOX, Hon. Secretary.

They received from the German Committee the following cordial reply:

We are one in the earnest desire to make a resolute stand against all attempts at sowing discord between our two nations, and to endeavour personally to further and strengthen the amicable relations between our two countries. We also are animated by a sincere spirit of goodwill towards your country and people.

We wish you to entertain no doubt whatever as to the sincerity of the words lately uttered by our Sovereign, for they were spoken in the name of the

whole German nation: 'The main prop and base for the peace of the world is the maintenance of good relations between our two countries, and I shall further strengthen them as far as lieth in my power' (Guildhall, 1907).

We are fully convinced that any, even the most successful, war would be a national disaster; to quote the words of one of our greatest statesmen (Moltke), how much more would this be the case between our two nations, the commerce and industry of which are so closely allied and dependent upon each other for their welfare.

We are one in estimating that the enormous expenditure which is absorbed by the raising of armaments for navy and army inflicts great and ever-increasing burdens on both peoples, which can be hardly tolerated any longer, and therefore we would gladly look forward to a reduction of armaments.

The stock from which both peoples spring, the kinship of our Sovereigns, and our mutual points of contact in art, literature, and science ought at last to remove every feeling of distrust and establish a feeling of mutual goodwill and friendship.

We are one in estimating that rivalry in generous and pacific pursuits will be a spur to the industry and activity of the peoples, but never ought to lead to enmity.

We are finally one in the conviction that our common civilization demands that public opinion should take a leading part in the carrying out of an effectual and earnest peace propaganda.

Thankful for the appeal to our Committee, we confidently grasp the hand extended to us in generous co-operation, strengthened by the certainty of finding sincere support on the other side of the Channel which unites our two countries.

On behalf of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee of Germany,

THEODOR VON HOLLEBEN, Hon. President.
WILHELM FABER, General Superintendent Probst von Berlin.
EDUARD DE NEUFVILLE, First President.
ALEXANDER VON SIEBOLD, Second President.

Berlin, July 1909.

The phrasing of the letters shows that the position was growing very serious: the possibility of war on both sides was plainly contemplated and contemplated with something approaching despair. It is clear enough to-day that the German Press had no power to control or even affect policy, that the policy of the Emperor and his Government might and did largely control the German Press, but that the weight of the Press had no effect whatever in determining policy against the plans of the German Government. The real influence of the English Press in affairs of state, as representing the weight of public opinion in a democratic State, did not exist in the pre-war Germany. In September 1909 attention was drawn in the House of Commons to the letter of the German Committee with respect to the necessity of an understanding as to reduction of armaments. The Prime Minister replied:

'My hon. Friends may be assured that any intimation that the German Government desire to take such an arrangement as is suggested into consideration would meet with a most cordial response from His Majesty's Government; and it must be quite clear, after public statements already made by responsible Ministers of the Crown, that no further representations

from His Majesty's Government are required to prove that this is the case.'

It was plain enough that public opinion in Germany had not the slightest weight with the German Government in so far as it diverged from a world-policy that could lead no other way than to war.

Yet on the English side efforts did not cease. Lord Avebury wrote two articles in the *Deutsche Revue* on the relations of the two peoples, and in November 1909, when the German Colonial Minister, Herr Von Dernberg, was in London, Mr. Fox called upon him and asked him to receive a deputation from the English Committee. This was declined, but Herr Von Dernberg at some public functions declared that the two nations were now entering upon closer and more friendly relations. Meantime, all English efforts to secure a mutual reduction of armaments failed. Mr. Fox repeatedly urged Sir Edward Grey to make all kinds of efforts for securing peace, but this was pushing an unlatched door. The statement in the Reichstag of the German Chancellor on 10th December 1910, that Germany, like England, desired to avoid rivalry in regard to armaments, roused Fox's hopes to the highest point. He believed that an exceptional and remarkable opportunity had arisen to open up negotiations with the German Government and he urged his views upon the British Government repeatedly. He gathered further hope from the very general public approval of Mr. Taft's proposals for Great Britain and America to enter into an Arbitration Treaty.

The sky, despite all efforts, steadily darkened.

Germany, while fair-spoken, held steadily to her task of preparing her forces for the Day of War and ignored all proposals that would eliminate the possibility and the growing probability of war. The Anglo-German Friendship Committee worked against hope. 'During the autumn of 1911,' writes Fox, 'a most dangerous outbreak of hostile and suspicious feelings existed in Germany against England arising out of the Morocco negotiations and the unfortunate Agadir incident. This unfriendly feeling had not before assumed so acute a character. Accordingly, and apparently at some risk of failure, I resolved that it was my duty to pay a special visit to Berlin and arrived there in the early part of December 1911, when most unexpectedly to oneself the door was opened in a remarkable way for me to have an interview with the Imperial Chancellor, His Excellency Dr. Von Bethmann Hollweg, as well as with other prominent Germans.' Fox in fact saw not only the Chancellor, but also, through the intervention of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Herr Von Kiderlen Wächter, Herr Von Zimmermann, one of the heads of the German Foreign Office, and Baron W. Von Stumm, the Director of the Political Departments of the Foreign Office. He also saw Herr Von Gwinner, the President, and Dr. Karl Schrader, a Director of the Deutsche Bank, the latter being Chairman of the Baghdad Railway. From 'all of these well-known and prominent representatives, I ascertained there existed at present throughout Germany a very hostile and bitter feeling against England. This feeling prevailed more especially among members of the National Liberal and Conservative parties and members of the Naval

League.' Mr. Fox goes on to make the following estimate of the position, and he duly communicated the facts to the English Foreign Office:

'The working-classes and other numerous and influential sections of the German people still maintain, however, an attitude of much friendliness and cordiality towards our country.

'Although it was not openly acknowledged to me in so many words, yet undoubtedly these feelings of indignation against England arise largely from a sense that the policy and proposals of their Government have just sustained a serious defeat, and that mainly through the active intervention and direct influence of our Government. I also learned that throughout Germany during the approaching election in January, severe and unfriendly criticism will be directed against England's action in all the electioneering speeches—that this criticism will form the principal topic in these speeches. This hostile electioneering movement against England is, I am informed, largely engineered by the Naval and Military Armaments Parties, who hope, as a consequence of this movement, that the newly-elected Reichstag will go in for a large increase in Naval and Military expenditure.

'But with all those whom I had the opportunity of meeting I found there existed a most sincere and earnest desire that a friendly *rapprochement* with England should be brought about in the near future. As the Morocco dispute is happily out of the way, the German Foreign Office authorities hope that the British Government will now be in a position to open up friendly communications with a view to bring about an early *rapprochement* between the two nations, as these authorities are not aware of any outstanding differences and disputes which cannot be settled by friendly negotiations and understanding—

and they further informed me that if this friendly understanding can be arranged it would be possible to come to an agreement with Great Britain at the same time respecting the Naval question.

'A Foreign Office authority assures me that the hostile outcry against England during the approaching elections would be greatly changed for the better, if the British Government could in some way make known in Germany that after the elections it would open up negotiations for such a *rapprochement*.

'A prominent banker in Berlin suggested that the right time to commence the proposals for closer relations would be when the new Budget estimates for Naval and Military expenditure are submitted to the Reichstag in the early part of February next.

'It would seem to be an especially gracious and judicious act on the part of H. M. Government to take an early and prompt initiative to bring about improved and sincere friendly relations, especially now when the German people are labouring under the impression that they have suffered very seriously through and by the recent action of our Government.

'So far as I have been able to learn, the Foreign Office and other authorities in Germany have no desire that the British Government, in the attempt to bring about the suggested friendly understanding, should in any way weaken or impair its friendly relations with France and Russia, but they do seem earnestly to desire that our Government, by means of friendly consultation and co-operative action with Germany, France, and Russia, should endeavour to promote and to arrive at a friendly and peaceable solution and settlement of the various political questions that are arising or may arise in the Balkan Provinces, Asia Minor, and Africa, so that the principles of fair and reasonable justice should be meted out and applied to all the several and special interests directly involved.

'There further seems to be a widespread opinion in

Berlin that if Great Britain and Germany can enter into a friendly *rapprochement*, the peace and prosperity of Europe and the world would thereby be greatly advanced.

'In Berlin there appears to be at present a general apprehension that unless strong and energetic diplomatic measures are taken, hostilities will break out in the Balkan Provinces in the spring of next year.'

It is well to compare the document with a letter sent from the German Friendship Committee to the English Committee earlier in the year:

DEAR FRIENDS AND COLLEAGUES,

We reciprocate heartily the cordial greetings sent to our meeting on 31st March in Berlin, and trust that our wishes for the furtherance of our mutual interests may likewise inspire your important session.

We also are persuaded that the great majority of the inhabitants of both our countries earnestly wish to entertain friendly feelings for each other, and rejoice at the improvement of relations between our two nations, which ought, at last, to dispel the suspicions of, as you rightly say, a limited number of the 'Jingo' party in both our countries.

We are therefore fully aware that both our Committees ought to use their whole influence for an exchange of friendly explanations and negotiations, so that all causes which may tend to produce distrust and suspicion may be removed.

We also are hoping that our Government will be willing to join and unite with the Governments of other nations in treaties for referring all differences to arbitration. This has already secured in principle the approval of the majority of our Imperial Diet. It was a most fortunate coincidence that at the moment when your address was read, the following resolutions of the Reichstag were passed:

1. The Imperial Diet will move to ask the Imperial Chancellor to express his willingness to enter into negotiations with other Powers, as soon as by any Government proposals are made for the reduction of military expenditure at the same time and on an equal footing.

2. The Imperial Diet will move to ask the Imperial Chancellor to conclude, on the basis of the treaty existing with Great Britain since 12th July 1904, similar treaties of arbitration also with other powers.

With our best wishes for the success of this day's meeting, and trusting that a true blessing may result,

We remain with our respectful and kind remembrances and cordial greetings,

On behalf of the German-English Friendship Committee.

The interview with the German Chancellor led, Mr. Fox states, 'to the subsequent visit in February 1912, of Lord Haldane to Berlin'. In a letter of 19th January 1912, he was pressing the Government to 'commence at an early date the necessary preliminary negotiations' towards a *rapprochement* between the two countries. Oberbürgmeister Lübke of Hamburg and of the German Friendship Committee, writing to Mr. Fox on 24th January 1913 on the subject, says, 'I have got your Memorandum which you have kindly sent to me and I thank you very much for it. It has interested me very much, seeing that it was your idea and your work, that Lord Haldane came to Berlin last year. It is very interesting to see the singular circumstances of his special mission to Berlin, and I venture to say it was very good work, that he proceeded to Berlin and conferred with the German statesmen.' Mr. Fox claimed that this

famous and much discussed visit ' was the means of completely changing the sentiments of the German people from a spirit of hostility to one of friendliness, and ever since then to the present time, April 1914, the relations between the two Governments of Germany and Great Britain have been exceptionally cordial. It is the opinion of those who are competent to judge, that the renewed intimate and friendly relations between these two Governments, humanly speaking, seem to have been the means of averting a terrible European War during the recent Balkan crisis and war.' There spoke Fox the optimist. But indeed it was difficult in the two years following the visit of Lord Haldane to have such serene optimism, since Germany pressed on with the completion of her armaments and was obviously waiting for the psychological moment.

Immediately before Fox's visit to Berlin the Anglo-German Friendship Committee was merged in a new Anglo-German Friendship Society designed to meet the growing difficulties of the position. Perhaps Fox was not so sanguine as he seemed in April 1914, for among his papers was a remarkable draft letter addressed to the German Emperor and dated 23rd September 1913:

The Reform Club,
London, S.W.
23rd September 1913.

To His Imperial Majesty
the German Emperor.

YOUR MAJESTY,

I venture most respectfully and under a deep concern that it may be my duty to address your Imperial

Majesty on the momentous question of the promotion in Europe of International Peace.

As I had the privilege and honour of taking an active share in the negotiations in December 1911 and January 1912 which led to Lord Haldane's visit to Berlin in February of last year and which visit has happily been one of the means of bringing about an improvement in the friendly relations between the two Governments of Germany and Great Britain, I think that perhaps I may have some little claim upon Your Majesty's kind consideration to what may now seem to be my duty to submit to Your Majesty.

When recently I was present at the opening of the Peace Palace at the Hague and took a part in the unveiling of the bust of King Edward in that Palace, I had an interview with a prominent and much respected Dutch statesman who referred to his great anxiety as to the present attitude of a certain section of the people of France towards Germany as standing in the way of the Peace of Europe, and to the extreme importance of some steps being taken to remove this unsatisfactory state of feeling in France.

Also I was present in the Peace Palace when Mr. Carnegie made his memorable appeal to Your Majesty to invite the chief civilized nations to confer upon the best means of ensuring a world's peace which Your Majesty's Empire has enjoyed so long, and when he said 'that most great advances have appeared to burst upon us suddenly in their perfection, so it will probably be with the change from barbarous war to civilized peace ; one small spark often creates the flame, the German Emperor holds in his hand the torch ; the twenty-five years of internal peace now to the Emperor's credit would be merged in his grander triumph of world peace over war'.

Is there not every reason for believing that if Your Majesty and the German people were to offer to France and the French people a proposal to place the

Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine under some form of neutral government in which neither Germany nor France had the sole control of the Government, that such an offer would be the means of uniting France and Germany into a close friendship and thus enable both countries to reduce their enormous armaments and their present crushing military expenditure?

The friendship thus established between Germany and France would enable the remaining principal nations of Europe to unite under the leadership and guidance of Your Majesty in a general pacific agreement.

Prince Bülow made a true declaration when he said, 'there are states which are strong enough to their own advantage to do without a futile and petty prestige policy'.

To states which have this strength more strength is added, and it is a strength which has this advantage, that it evokes no bitterness and creates no rankling sense of wrong, and no lurking passion for revenge.

It appears in its most uncompromising form in British Colonial policy when it disarms discontent by trust and uproots it by giving it freedom and responsibility, and then the Prince referring to the grant of self-government to the South African Boers went on to say that 'it (the Imperial Government) has done this by one stroke of policy, by one display of that supreme strength which shows itself in forbearance and manly confidence'.

I earnestly hope that Your Imperial Majesty will seriously consider whether it may not be the path of true wisdom to make a real and great sacrifice so as to gain the grander triumph of a permanent European Peace.

I am,

Your Imperial Majesty's most respectfully,

FRANCIS WM. FOX.

Again on 5th November 1913 Fox expresses his great satisfaction that the First Lord of the Admiralty had made in his speech at Manchester 'an official and definite offer to the German and other Governments that some understanding should be come to in connexion with the future developments of Naval armaments', and pleads for 'such appropriate negotiations as will eventually lead to a European International understanding on this all-important and most urgently pressing problem'.

In the document—a draft letter to Sir Edward Grey—he pleads for the employment of some non-official intermediary: 'I have found by experience that at a certain stage of the negotiations more good and useful preliminary spade-work can be accomplished by semi-official, or even by unofficial interviews than can always be effected through the customary official channels of communication. I believe that this difficult question of creating an atmosphere favourable to this International understanding as to Naval armaments is precisely one which can be best handled in the first place in a semi-official or unofficial way.' The passage may be regarded as Fox's *Apologia pro vita sua*.

The following letters to the Grand Duchess of Baden-Baden, one before and one after the outbreak of war—presumably the latter was never dispatched—show Fox's true outlook at the opening of the Great War:

London, S.W.
23rd February 1914.

To Her Royal Highness
The Grand Duchess of Baden-Baden.

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

As I happened to have been one of the Founders in 1905 and subsequently the Hon. Secretary of the Anglo-German Friendship Committee, which I venture to think was the means of accomplishing much useful and important work in promoting better relations between Germany and Great Britain and which Committee has since merged into the British and German Friendship Society of which His Grace the Duke of Argyll is President, the Right Hon. Sir F. C. Lascelles the Chairman, and I am one of its Hon. Treasurers—I have known for many years what a great interest Your Royal Highness has always taken in bringing about improved and closer friendly relations between our two nations. I therefore venture to take the liberty of addressing this letter to Your Royal Highness.

For many years I have been profoundly concerned at the deplorable want of the spirit of friendship and of true brotherhood manifested by the statesmen and representatives of the various European nations, but perhaps more especially on the part of those representing Great Britain, Germany, France, and Russia.

A widespread and most regrettable spirit of ungenerous distrust, and in consequence a most deplorable rivalry in armaments and weapons of destruction, seems to have laid hold of and even obsessed their minds and hearts.

This wretched spirit of fear and distrust has caused the wasteful and worse than wasteful expenditure of millions upon millions of pounds on military and naval armaments—which, if this vast sum had only been expended in the development of the agricultural

and industrial resources of our respective countries, would have conferred untold happiness, comfort, and prosperity upon the now greatly oppressed labouring classes of Europe and would have also been the means of a great and beneficent uplift of humanity everywhere.

This deplorable spirit which at present enthralls the rulers and statesmen of Europe is utterly opposed and contrary to the spirit and teaching of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Founder of our Christian Faith.

Now the thought is constantly pressing upon me, why should not a new spirit of brotherhood and friendship take possession and pervade our minds and hearts in the place of this present spirit of distrust? If such a spirit can be developed, say in Great Britain, Germany, and France, what an indescribable and wonderful transformation would take place in these three great nations and in Europe in general.

The thought also constantly before me is, why should not the representatives of these three nations meet with the object of sincerely trying to discover how and in what way the causes of distrust can be removed, and how and in what way a federal community of interests in international affairs can be brought about, and how each of these three nations should endeavour to find a basis of co-operation to help each other in the promotion of international peace and goodwill?

Now I may take the liberty of asking your Royal Highness to consider if any and what special preliminary steps might be taken to bring about such a desired change.

I am ready to go anywhere in Europe if in any way I can be of any little assistance in helping forward such a new spirit of international co-operation.

I believe the people of Europe have yet to learn that the influences of love and goodwill have a far greater potency in controlling the passions and evil

spirits of mankind than the brute and barbarous forces of armaments and war.

Yours very respectfully,

FRANCIS WM. FOX.

P.S. I enclose a Memorandum of a visit to Berlin in December 1911 which possibly Your Royal Highness may be interested in seeing.

80, Lansdowne Road, London, W.
and
Reform Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
18th November 1914.

To Her Royal Highness
The Grand Duchess Luise of Baden.

DEAR GRAND DUCHESS,

Your Royal Highness's very kind letter of 2nd April last induces me now to venture to dispatch to Your Royal Highness the following letter, notwithstanding the fact that the terrible and most sorrowful calamity has since befallen your beloved Fatherland and my much-loved Nation.

It was an overwhelming grief and disappointment to me and to a very large number of my fellow-countrymen that before taking any definite hostile measures leading to a declaration of war, your Kaiser and His Imperial Majesty's Government did not agree to Sir Edward Grey's proposal to refer the international dispute and difficulties arising out of the Austrian and Serbian differences to a Conference of the Powers, as this Conference might have saved the awful catastrophe which has since fallen upon Europe and the world.

Now the object I have in view in dispatching this letter to Your Royal Highness is to inquire if some means can be devised to bring to a conclusion this cruel and ruinous war, and I do so entirely on my own private responsibility, as I am in no way officially

connected with our Government. Your Royal Highness has doubtless noticed from the speeches delivered by our most prominent statesmen since the declaration of the war that one of the foremost objects the British Government has in view is to bring about such a peace settlement as will remove the oppressive clouds of militarism and of fear and distrust that militarism develops and which have rested so heavily and so cruelly for so many years upon Europe, so that militarism and the spirit of militarism shall be effectively swept away and destroyed, and that the people of Europe shall be permitted to enter upon a new era of Christian civilization and of peace and prosperity.

Such a European peace settlement as shall be based upon righteousness and justice and, in the words of our Prime Minister, 'the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances and a precarious equipoise, of a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal rights and established and enforced by a common will'.

I want to inquire if Your Royal Highness thinks there is any way of conveying to the people of Germany that which some of us in England are earnestly desirous to see realized, viz., such a peace settlement as shall be absolutely just and fair to all the nations concerned, and the creation of such a federative partnership of the European nations as will also permit of vast reductions in the military and naval forces of Europe?

I am, with great respect,

Yours faithfully,

FRANCIS WM. FOX.

To these letters must be added a draft letter, also presumably never sent, addressed to Dr. Von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor, on 9th December 1914:

Reform Club,
Pall Mall, S.W.
9th December 1914.

To His Excellency
The German Imperial Chancellor
Dr. Von Bethmann Hollweg,
Berlin.

DEAR SIR,

Your Excellency's kind letter of 28th May last induces me now to venture to dispatch to you the following letter, notwithstanding the fact that since then the terrible and most sorrowful calamity of war has fallen upon our two much-loved nations.

It was an overwhelming grief and disappointment to me and a vast number of my fellow-countrymen that, before taking any definite hostile measures leading to a declaration of war, your Imperial Kaiser and His Imperial Majesty's Government did not agree to Sir Edward Grey's proposal to refer the international dispute arising out of the Russian, Austrian, and Serbian difficulties to a Conference of the Powers, as this Conference might have saved the awful catastrophe which has since fallen upon Europe and the world.

Now the object I have in view in dispatching this letter to your Excellency is to express the earnest hope and prayer that the murderous carnage of this horrible war and the indescribable sufferings and sorrows of the people of Europe may in some way be speedily brought to an end.

But if just at the present time there may seem no way to do this, or it may seem, humanly speaking, impossible to bring to an early conclusion this inhuman and most cruel war: then why cannot the Kaiser open up communications with our King, with the Czar, and the President of France so as to arrange for a truce between the several belligerent nations for say a fortnight during the Christmas season—so that during this period of truce and before the great struggle recommences, suggestions may be exchanged

which possibly may serve as a basis for a satisfactory peace settlement.

Your Excellency has doubtless noticed from the speeches delivered by our most prominent statesmen since the declaration of the war, that one of the foremost objects the British Government has in view is to bring about such a peace settlement as will remove the oppressive clouds of militarism and of fear and distrust which militarism always develops, and which have rested so heavily and so cruelly for so many years upon Europe, so that militarism and its spirit shall be swept away and destroyed, and that the people of Europe shall be permitted to enter upon a new Era of Christian civilization and the enjoyment of peace and industrial prosperity—such a European peace settlement as shall be based upon righteousness and justice, and, in the words of our Prime Minister, 'the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings, and alliances and a precarious equipoise, of a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal rights and established and enforced by a common will'.

I want to inquire if your Excellency can convey to your colleagues in your Government and the people of Germany what many of us in England are earnestly desirous to see realized, viz.: such a peace settlement as shall be absolutely just and fair to all the Nations concerned, and the creation of such a federative partnership of the European Nations as shall permit of vast reduction in the naval and military armaments of Europe.

As Your Excellency already knows, I am in no way officially connected with our Government and I am sending this letter solely on my own private responsibility and without the knowledge of any member of our Government.

I am,
Yours very truly,
FRANCIS WM. FOX.

He was no doubt encouraged to write this letter by a kindly note that he had received from the Chancellor at the beginning of June 1914. The letter is given because it shows how Fox's pleasing and gentle personality had touched the heart of one of England's most dangerous antagonists:

Berlin,
28th May 1914.

Die Reichskanzlei.

DEAR MR. FOX,

Kindly accept my sincere thanks for your warm sympathy in my sorrow. The loss which I sustained was a great blow for me. But the manifold assurances of true and earnest sympathy which I received prove a real comfort to me.

I am very pleased to hear that you retain a friendly recollection of your visit to Berlin in 1911 which I also remember with great pleasure.

Believe me, dear Mr. Fox, with my kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) V. BETHMANN HOLLWEG.

The following Memorandum and draft letters (presumably not dispatched) may well conclude this account of Fox's efforts and waking dreams towards a great peace:

MEMORANDUM

OF SOME SUGGESTED PROVISIONS TO BE INCLUDED IN A EUROPEAN PEACE SETTLEMENT.

In view of the termination of the present European War, it may be advisable to consider what special measures or lines of service it may be practicable to

undertake, so as to endeavour to create a widespread public opinion throughout Europe, among its statesmen and its people, in favour of securing, so far as it is possible, an enduring and satisfactory Peace Settlement—such a European Peace Settlement as shall be based on righteousness and justice, and, in the words of our Prime Minister, 'the substitution for force, for the clash of competing ambitions, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious equipoise, of a real European partnership based on the recognition of an equal right, and established and enforced by a common will'.

For the purpose of considering and arranging the conditions to be included in the proposed Peace Settlement, the representatives of the several Nations of Europe must be summoned to a Conference with the earnest determination that a co-operative partnership or union of the several States of Europe shall be established for the common good of all and each of their respective States, and that a certain group of international questions shall be set aside and placed under the special supervision of a proposed Central European International or Federal Council.

The following provisions might, possibly, be included in some of the terms of the proposed Peace Settlement, viz.:

(1) That a vast reduction of the Naval and Military armaments shall be made; the said reduction to be in proportion to the population of each Nation, but the Naval armaments of Great Britain, as viewed in relation to her Colonial Dominions and to India, must, necessarily, be dealt with separately and, perhaps, in a different way from the basis for the reduction of her Naval armaments such as are in relation to the Naval armaments of the European Federation.

(2) That an International Police Force (Military and Naval) shall be established for the purpose of securing that the provisions of the Peace Settlement are properly carried out and duly observed.

(3) That all forts shall be dismantled and, perhaps, in a few cases, even completely destroyed.

(4) That provisions shall be made for the free navigation of all the seas surrounding Europe, including those of the Bosphorus and Black Sea, and possibly, for the neutralization of the Kiel Canal.

(5) That in each Nation there shall be established some effective form of constitutional or democratic government on lines generally similar to those either of France, the United States of America or Great Britain, but, perhaps, in the cases of Russia, Hungary and the Balkan Federation of States, so modified as to meet the special requirements of those countries, with their rather heterogeneous populations.

(6) That the boundaries of the several European Nations shall be readjusted so as to meet the wishes and aspirations of the peoples of the several Nations concerned, so far as it is possible to ascertain these.

(7) That there shall be complete freedom of trade between all the European Nations, including their respective Protectorates and Colonial Dominions, and no favoured discriminations shall be allowed ; provided always that each Nation, Protectorate, and Colonial Dominion shall be at liberty to impose such export and import duties as may be necessary for revenue purposes.

(8) That a European International or Federal Council shall be created for the purpose of carrying out and administering certain specific international functions and duties. This Council shall in no way interfere with the domestic government and internal affairs of the several States comprised in the Federation.

(*a*) The Council shall supervise the administration of the provisions of the Peace Settlement.

(*b*) It shall be responsible for the administration of international questions such as may, from time to time, be referred to it by the several States.

(*c*) It shall control the International Police Force.

(*d*) It shall be responsible for the supervision of the International Railways, Telegraphs, Telephones, and Postal arrangements, but the administrative services of these to be carried on as heretofore at their present international offices at Berne, in Switzerland.

This proposed European Federal Council to be established at The Hague, and to consist, say, of three representatives from each of the six Great Powers, and one representative from each of the other Powers.

It is doubtful if the Colonial Dominions of Great Britain will desire to be included in this European Federation, but should they elect to do so, then each of these Colonial Nations should also be represented on the Council by one representative.

One representative from each of the six Great Powers shall be appointed as a President, one of whom shall, in rotation, be annually nominated as the presiding Chairman of the Council.

The Council to meet once a year and to be convened at any time, if international circumstances arose demanding a special session. An Executive of the Council, with an office at The Hague, shall permanently be in session.

(9) That, in addition to the existing International Arbitration Tribunal at The Hague, there shall also be established a supreme judicial Court which shall constantly be in session at that city and whose decisions shall, in case of necessity, be enforced by the International Federal Council.

December 1914.

Reform Club,
Pall Mall, London, S.W.
8th February 1915.

To His Excellency
The German Imperial Chancellor
Dr. Von Bethmann Hollweg.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

As I recall with pleasure the interesting interview your Excellency was good enough to give at Berlin about three years since, and also the kindly-worded letter which you sent me in May last, I venture at this time to address these few lines, notwithstanding the terrible calamity of war which has since befallen our two nations, and which still most unhappily is being waged with such indescribable suffering and with such huge sacrifices for all concerned.

The object that I have in view in sending this letter to Your Excellency is to express my earnest hope that the time may have arrived when an Armistice may be arranged between all the belligerent nations, during which negotiations might be initiated for the summoning of a Conference to consider the possible conditions of a Peace Settlement.

If Your Excellency would be willing to grant me special facilities to pay a visit to Berlin so as unofficially to talk over how such a Conference can be brought about, I will gladly undertake the journey to Berlin, provided of course that our authorities in Great Britain had no objection to my doing so.

I am sending this letter entirely on my own private responsibility and, as you are already aware, I am in no way officially connected with our Government.

Would Your Excellency kindly send an acknowledgement of this letter addressed to me under care of the American Embassy at Berlin and London.

With kind remembrances,

I am,
Yours very faithfully,

MEMORANDUM

OF A PRELIMINARY OUTLINE OF A TREATY OF PEACE TO BE ARRANGED BETWEEN THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SEVERAL BELLIGERENT NATIONS EITHER DURING THE TIME WHEN HOSTILITIES ARE IN PROGRESS OR DURING AN ARMISTICE.

The conditions of this said Treaty of Peace shall include the following points:[1]

(1) That no people should be left with such a sense of injustice as will prevent them from co-operating in building up a permanent peace, or will induce them to begin preparing for another war.

(2) No change in the constitution of any State should be stipulated in the terms of settlement.

(3) In the fixing of frontiers the main consideration should be the wishes of the populations concerned.

(4) The right of capture at sea in time of war of private property other than contraband should be abolished.

(5) Any indemnities that may be arranged should be for the purpose of compensating the population of ravaged territories and not for the purpose of crippling or punishing any State.

(6) That the States should guarantee to the various nationalities included within their boundaries equality before the Law, also religious liberty and the free use of their native language.

[1] Most of the provisions herein included are the same or very similar to some of the conditions set forth in the Minimum Programme of the Dutch Central Organization for a Durable Peace, while others are similar to those suggested by Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson, and others are identical with the resolutions adopted at the Society of Friends' Peace Conference at Devonshire House, 24th to 25th June 1915.

(7) That the States should agree to introduce in their Colonies, Protectorates and spheres of influence, liberty of commerce, or at least equal treatment for all nations.

(8) That the States agree to reduce their armaments.

(9) That the Foreign Policy should be under the effective control of the Parliaments of the respective Nations, and secret treaties shall be declared inoperative and void.

(10) That the navigation of the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus shall be declared free and unrestricted to all Nations.

(11) That a Congress of the European Nations be summoned to embody the terms of the preliminary Peace Treaty in the form of an International Treaty.

(12) That the proposed Congress should appoint International Commissions to carry out the territorial rearrangements and to arrange for the limitation of armaments.

(13) That the proposed Congress should also create a permanent International Council of Conciliation to which shall be submitted all differences of non-judicial character or those cases which cannot suitably be brought before the Hague Courts of Arbitration or of Justice.

(14) That the States bind themselves to take concerted action in case any State declines to carry out the terms of the Peace Settlement or resorts to military or naval measures instead of submitting the dispute to judicial decision or to the mediation of the Council of Conciliation.

FRANCIS WM. FOX.

London,
25th June 1915.

Reform Club,
Pall Mall, London, S.W.
2nd November 1915.

To

Professor Dr. Hans Delbrück.
Grünwald, Berlin.

DEAR DR. DELBRÜCK,

The pleasant interview that I had with you when you were last in London, in October 1913, induces me to address this letter to you in spite of the most sad and distressing crisis through which we are now unfortunately passing, as I know that you then like myself were earnestly hoping the friendly relations between our two Nations would not only be maintained but would continue to improve as time advanced.

This hope has alas! been grievously disappointed by the terrible events which are now most unhappily transpiring.

But you will probably agree with me that if a righteous, just and enduring Peace settlement of this ruinous European struggle is to be speedily brought about, a fundamental spiritual change must come over the hearts and thoughts of the leading statesmen of Europe by which it may be fully realized how the methods and views, which have so widely prevailed in the past in our respective Nations have tragically failed and have proved so utterly wrong and mischievous in their tendencies and results, and how these have developed that fear and distrust so largely responsible for this horrible world-wide catastrophe that we are now witnessing.

The new spirit to be awakened must be a truly Christian one, and must involve the creation of international mutual respect and esteem based upon the recognition of the brotherhood of mankind.

It must be a spirit of reconciliation and goodwill in place of the spirit of suspicion and hate.

If such a complete change in the minds and hearts of the peoples of Europe can be brought about then it may become possible to realize the aspirations of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, as set forth in his speech at Dublin, in the month of September 1914, when he spoke as follows:

'I should like, if I might for a moment, beyond this inquiry into causes and motives, to ask your attention, and that of my fellow-countrymen to the end which in this war we ought to keep in view. Forty-four years ago, at the time of the war of 1870, Mr. Gladstone used these words. He said "The greatest triumph of our time will be the enthronement of the idea of public right as the governing idea of European politics".

'Nearly fifty years passed.

'Little progress it seems has yet been made towards that good and beneficent change, but it seems to me to be now at this moment as good a definition as we can have of our European policy.

'The idea of public right, what does it mean when translated into concrete terms?

'It means first and foremost the clearing of the ground by the definite repudiation of militarism as the governing factor in the relation of States and of the future moulding of the European World.

'It means next that room must be found and kept for the independent existence and the free development of the smaller nationalities, each with a corporate consciousness of its own.

'Belgium, Holland and Switzerland, and the Scandinavian Countries, Greece and the Balkan States, they must be recognized as having exactly as good a title as their more powerful neighbours, more powerful in strength as in wealth—exactly as good a title to a place in the sun.

'And it means, finally, or it ought to mean, perhaps by a slow and gradual process, the substi-

tution for force for the clash of competing ambition, for grouping and alliances and a precarious equipoise, the substitution for all these things of a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by a common will.'

Those of us who earnestly desire for a just and righteous European Peace Settlement of this War will probably urge that the following leading principles shall be included in that settlement:

(1) That the claims of nationality be respected in all cases, the national boundaries coincide as far as possible with national sentiment, and that no territory be annexed or retained against the will of its inhabitants.

(2) That a real European partnership be substituted for the system of dividing nations into rival groups and all alliances, and that an undertaking be entered into, that all future differences shall be settled by rational methods instead of by war.

(3) That the settlement shall include an agreement for the drastic reduction of armaments.

Now, cannot you, and some of your influential friends in Germany, unite with many of us in Great Britain in using your and our best endeavours and influence to bring about such an enduring and righteous Peace Settlement.

As your Imperial Chancellor is already well acquainted with the strenuous efforts that I, in common with others, have made for many years past to promote friendly relations between Germany and Great Britain, may I ask you, if you do not object to do so, to kindly bring this letter before the notice of His Excellency.

I remain,
With kind remembrances,
Yours very truly,
FRANCIS WM. FOX.

P. S.—May I ask you to inform the Imperial Chancellor that I am prepared to come to Berlin to see him on this question of an enduring Peace Settlement upon the lines indicated in this letter provided the Imperial Chancellor will grant me special travelling facilities to enable me to pay a visit to Berlin and provided my own Foreign Office Authorities will not object to my going.

These documents, and the circumstances under which they are written, considered in the light of the lifelong efforts made by F. W. Fox for the reduction of armaments and the creation of an atmosphere of peace, indicate perhaps, better than other of the numerous letters and papers that he wrote and received his undeviating policy and his unconquerable hope. He was under no illusions as to the danger of the German outlook and quite frankly realized that Germany was playing for her own hand. The question with Fox was, whether it would be possible, by the aid of the abundant goodwill and the will for peace in England, and the co-operation of the soul of goodness in things evil that he discerned in the personalities of a considerable number of men and women of importance in Germany, to divert the policy of the German Government from its appointed goal. He seemed to think in April 1914 that this diversion had been secured, that a sufficient body of public opinion in Germany intent on peace had been organized to secure peace. Yet, as has been shown, the optimism was not only not well founded, but was a matter of doubt in Fox's own mind. So when war was thrust upon Europe by Germany, he at once set to work to prepare for peace on a universal scale.

His outlook was not obscured by the fact of war. He hoped, and apparently believed, that the war would be brief and would lead to such an international arrangement as would make a recurrence of such an event impossible. He was wrong as to the brevity of the war and he died when it was in its bitterest stages, but who shall say that he was wrong in his ultimate outlook on the position? Had he lived he would have attended the Washington Conference on the question of the reduction of armaments, and would have moved among the delegates with all his old *sang-froid* and his genial, kindly optimism. His idealism certainly was at work during that remarkable Conference, and his friends—as who were not—may certainly claim that his years of pure and disinterested labours had some very direct and fruitful effect in this great effort to abolish from the earth the dire threat of universal war. F. W. Fox liked to feel that his efforts were fruitful, and fruitful they were in many fields, whether religious, or social, or international, but chiefly, we may think, they were fruitful in the region of international peace. He reaped some harvests himself and when he died at his home, 80 Lansdowne Road, in Kensington on 9th April 1918, he died in the full faith that an age of universal peace and goodwill could and would become a possession of mankind.

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